Vol. X. No. 5.

The Forum.

EDITED BY LORETTUS S. METCALF.

JANUARY, 1891.

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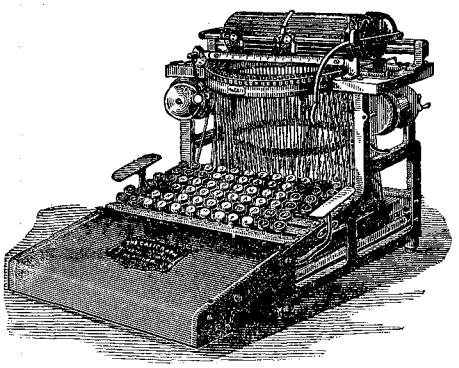

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WRITERS AND SUBJECTS.

Brief Notices of Contributors to the Forum for January and Lists of Parallel Articles.

THE DIVISION OF AFRICA.

Prof. Émile de Laveleye.

ÉMILE LOUIS VICTOR DE LAVELEYE, the Belgian economist, was born in Bruges, April 5, 1822. He was educated in his native town and at Paris, studied law in Ghent, and began his literary career in 1844 by publishing a memoir on the Provençal language and literature. Since 1848 he has devoted himself to politics and economics. He has sat in the Belgian Parliament, became in 1864 professor of political economy at the University of Liège, and is a member of many learned societies. He has taken special interest in the founding of the Congo Free State and in other African matters. Among his numerous books, all written in French, and many of them translated into Flemish, Dutch, Swedish, and German, are: "Prussia and Austria since Sadowa"; "Forms of Government in Modern Society"; "The Clerical Party in Belgium"; "Bimetallic Money"; "Cotemporary Socialism"; and "Central Africa." He has written for the FORUM "Civil Government and the Papacy" (April, 1888); "Perils of Democracy" (May, 1889); and "Mutterings of War in Europe" (October, 1889).

In the FORUM for June, 1890, Henry S. Sanford treated "American Interests in Africa."

FORMATIVE INFLUENCES.

President Timothy Dwight.

PRESIDENT DWIGHT was born in Norwich, Conn., November 16, 1828. His grandfather, of the same name, was president of Yale from 1795 till 1817. The grandson graduated there in 1849, and after studying theology was a tutor in the college in 1850-53. He then studied two years in Germany, and in 1858 was chosen to the chair of sacred literature in the theological seminary, which post he held till his election to the presidency of the university in 1886. He had long taken active interest in its affairs, and its recent growth is due largely to him. President Dwight was a member of the American committee for the revision of the English version of the Bible. He has written for the FORUM "Education in Boyhood" (April, 1890). The present article is the eighth in the series begun in the number for June, 1890, by W. E. H. Lecky, and continued by Prof. John Tyndall, Prof. A. P. Peabody, Rev. Dr. E. E. Hale, Frederic Harrison, Rev. Dr. Edward Eggleston, and Archdeacon Farrar.

THE SHIBBOLETH OF LIBERTY.

W. S. Lilly.

WILLIAM S. LILLY, one of the most eminent of English essayists, was born in Dorsetshire, England, in 1840. He was educated at Cambridge, and in 1861, after graduating in law, entered the East Indian civil service, where he rose to be under secretary to the government of Madras. In 1870 he returned to England, and in 1873 he was admitted to the bar. Mr. Lilly is a frequent contributor to the English reviews on historical, ethical, and philosophical subjects. He has written for the FORUM "The Present Outlook for Christianity" (December, 1886); "What Is the Object of Life?" (November, 1887); "The Foundation of Ethics" (February, 1888); "The Ethics of Art" (April, 1889); "The Ethics of Politics" (June, 1889); "The Ethics of Journalism" (July, 1889); and "The Ethics of Marriage" (January, 1890). The present article is the second of a series by Mr. Lilly, of which the first paper was "The Shibboleth of Public Opinion" (November, 1890).

IS VERSE IN DANGER?

Prof. Edmund Gosse.

PROF. GOSSE, who is the son of Philip Henry Gosse, the eminent English naturalist, was born in London in 1849. He became assistant librarian at the British Museum in 1867 and translator to the Board of Trade in 1875, and has made a reputation as a poet and literary historian. His poetical works include "Madrigals, Songs, and Sonnets"; "King Erik," a tragedy; "The Unknown Lover," a drama; and "Firdausi in Exile." He has also written lives of Congreve and Raleigh; works on early English poetry and on "The Literature of Northern Europe," and most of the articles on poetry in the Encyclopædia Britannica, last edition. Mr. Gosse has written for the FORUM "Has America Produced a Poet?" (October, 1888); "What Is a Great Poet?" (April, 1889); "Making a Name in Literature" (October, 1889); and "The Limits of Realism in Fiction" (June, 1890). Other FORUM articles on authorship are: "The Manuscript Market," by Junius Henri Browne, and "Should Foreign Authors Be Protected?" by G. P. Lathrop and R. Sherman (July, 1886); "Literary Log Rolling," by J. Clayton Adams (January, 1887); "Why We Have No Great Novelists," by Prof. Boyesen (February, 1887); "Getting into Print," by James Payn (January, 1889); "Success in Fiction," by Margaret O. W. Oliphant (May, 1889); "A Market for Books," by Rev. Dr. E. E. Hale (July, 1889); "Writing for the Stage," by Prof. Hennequin (February, 1890); and "The Future of Fiction," by James Sully (August, 1890).

THE REVOLUTION IN MEDICINE.

Dr. Austin Flint.

DR. FLINT was born on March 28, 1836, in Northampton, Mass., where his father, the celebrated physician of the same name, had recently begun practice. The son spent one year at Harvard, and after occupying some time in the study of civil engineering, began that of medicine and took his degree in 1857. He edited the "Buffalo Medical Journal" till 1860, and in 1861, on the organization of Bellevue Hospital Medical College, accepted the chair of physiology and microscopic anatomy. His experimental work has received high praise. He was the first physiologist in the country to operate on the spinal cord in living animals, and his researches on the functions of the liver in 1869 are considered to have settled a vexed question. His medical works include "Physiology of Man"; "The Source of Muscular Power"; and "The Physiological Effects of Severe Muscular Exercise." He has written for the FORUM "The Mechanism of the Singing Voice" (February, 1888); "A Possible Revolution in Medicine" (December, 1888); and "Late Theories concerning Fever" (July, 1889).

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Other medical articles in the FORUM are: "Creed, Craft, and Cure," by Dr. Meredith Clymer (April, 1888); "Is Medicine a Science?" by Dr. George M. Gould (December, 1889); and "Hypnotism and Crime," by Dr. J. M. Charcot (April, 1890).

CONSERVATIVE PROGRESS.

Rev. Dr. George D. Boardman.

GEORGE DANA BOARDMAN, the son of a well-known Baptist missionary of the same name, was born in Tavoy, Burmah, August 18, 1828. He graduated at Brown University in 1852, entered the Baptist ministry, and has held pastorates in Rochester, N. Y., and Philadelphia, Pa. He has published "Studies in the Creative Week"; "Studies in the Model Prayer"; "Epiphanies of the Risen Lord"; and "Studies in the Mountain Instruction."

THE COMING BILLIONAIRE.

Thomas G. Shearman.

THOMAS GASKELL SHEARMAN was born in Birmingham, England, November 25, 1834. His parents brought him, when he was nine years old, to New York, where he was educated privately, studied law, and since 1859 has practiced his profession. Since 1879 he has been active in advocacy of free trade. He is joint author of legal works on "Practice, Pleading, and Forms," and "Negligence"; he prepared for the commissioners of the code the "Book of Forms," and most of the part of the civil code relating to obligations; and he is the author of numerous essays and pamphlets on economic subjects. Mr. Shearman has written for the FORUM "Henry George's Mistakes" (September, 1889); and "The Owners of the United States" (November, 1890).

Other FORUM articles on allied subjects are: "Evils of Indirect Taxation," by John Randolph Tucker (February, 1886); "Who is Benefited by Protection?" by William R. Morrison (March, 1888); "How the Tariff Affects Industry," by W. C. P. Breckinridge (November, 1888); and "The Moloch of Monopoly," by Rev. Dr. William Barry (June, 1889).

DOES THE NEGRO SEEK SOCIAL EQUALITY?

Rev. J. C. Price.

JOSEPH CHARLES PRICE was born in Elizabeth City, N. C., February 10, 1854. His mother was a free colored woman and his father was a slave. The son began his education under northern teachers at New Berne, N. C., at the close of the war, graduated at Lincoln University, Pennsylvania, in 1879, and studied theology there. In 1882 he was chosen president of Livingstone College, Salisbury, N. C., which he did much toward founding; traveling and speaking abroad during a year in its interest and in behalf of his race. He was offered the Liberian mission by President Cleveland, but declined it.

Other FORUM articles on the Negro question are: "The Negro in the South," by Prof. Noah K. Davis (April, 1886); "Our African Contingent," by Eugene M. Camp (August, 1886); "Is the Negro Vote Suppressed?" by Senator Colquitt (November, 1887); "What Negro Supremacy Means," by Senator Wade Hampton (June, 1888); "What Shall the Negro Do?" by George W. Cable (August, 1888); "A Simpler Southern Question," by the same author (December, 1888); "Race Antagonism in the South," by Senator Eustis (October, 1888); "Shall Negro Majorities Rule?" by Senator John T. Morgan (February, 1889); "The Future of the Negro," by Prof. W. S. Scarborough (March, 1889); "The Republican Party and the Negro," by E. L. Godkin (May, 1889); "Prejudice against the Negro," by Rev. John Snyder (October, 1889); "Can the Race Problem Be Solved?" by Prof. Henry A. Scomp (December, 1889); and "The Progress of the Negro," by Rev. Amory D. Mayo (November, 1890).

THE MANUFACTURE OF ANCESTORS.

John D. Champlin, Jr.

JOHN DENISON CHAMPLIN, JR., was born in Stonington, Conn., January 29, 1834. He graduated at Yale in 1856 and was admitted to the bar, but soon devoted himself to journalism. In 1869 he removed to New York, where he has since been engaged in literary work. He was an associate editor of the "American Cyclopædia," editor of Scribner's art cyclopædias, and the author of the "Young Folks' Cyclopædia" series. Mr. Champlin has written for the FORUM "Why We Have No Great Artists" (August, 1887); and "The Union of English-speaking Peoples" (April, 1888).

In October, 1887, Prof. Thomas Davidson wrote for the FORUM on "Aristocracy and Humanity."

REFORM IN RAILWAY CONSTRUCTION.

Oberlin Smith.

OBERLIN SMITH was born, of English parents, in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1840. He was educated in Cleveland and Philadelphia, studied practical mechanics, and established a machine shop at Bridgeton, N. J. He is now president of the Ferracute Machine Company at that place. He has designed many special forms of machinery, and in 1889 he became president of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers. Mr. Smith has written numerous technical papers, and has also contributed to periodical literature.

Another view of the modern railway is given by Prof. R. H. Thurston in an article in the December FORUM entitled "Speed in Railway Travel."

THE REVOLT AGAINST MATRIMONY.

Eliza Lynn Linton.

MRS. LINTON was born in 1822, in Keswick, England, where her father was a clergyman of the established church. Since the appearance of her first novel, "Azeth, the Egyptian" (1846), she has been connected with the press. In 1858 she married Mr. William J. Linton, the well-known engraver. Besides many noteworthy papers on the woman question in the London "Saturday Review," she is the author of numerous novels, including "Patricia Kemball"; "The World Well Lost"; "My Love"; and "The Autobiography of Christopher Kirkland." She has contributed to the FORUM "The Tyranny of Fashion" (March, 1887); "On Things Social" (June, 1887); "The Pains of Fear" (May, 1888); "Are Good Women Characterless?" (February, 1889); "Democracy in the Household" (October, 1889); and "Mrs. Grundy's Kingdom" (February, 1890). Other FORUM articles on marriage and divorce are: "National Divorce Legislation," by Judge E. H. Bennett (January, 1887); "Marriage Laws," by the same author (May, 1887); "To Marry or Not To Marry," by Junius Henri Browne (December, 1888); "Divorce in the United States," by Prof. E. J. Phelps (December, 1889); and "The Ethics of Marriage," by W. S. Lilly (January, 1890).

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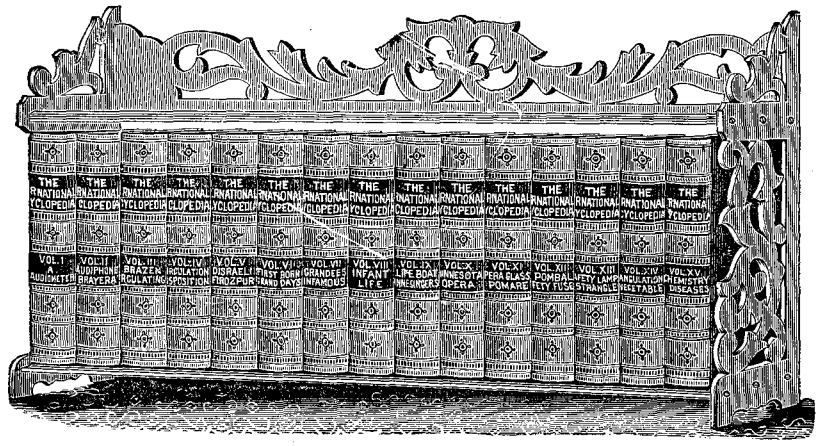

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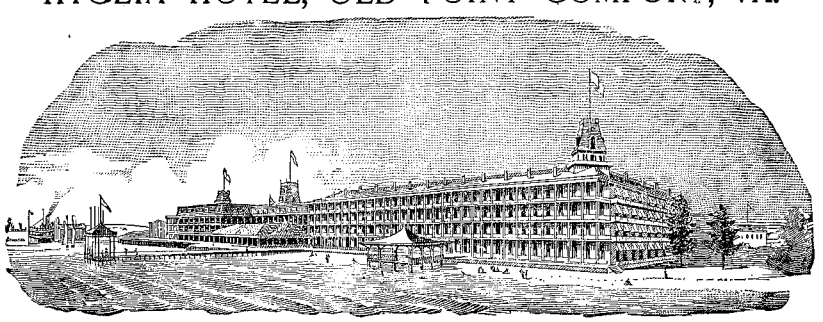

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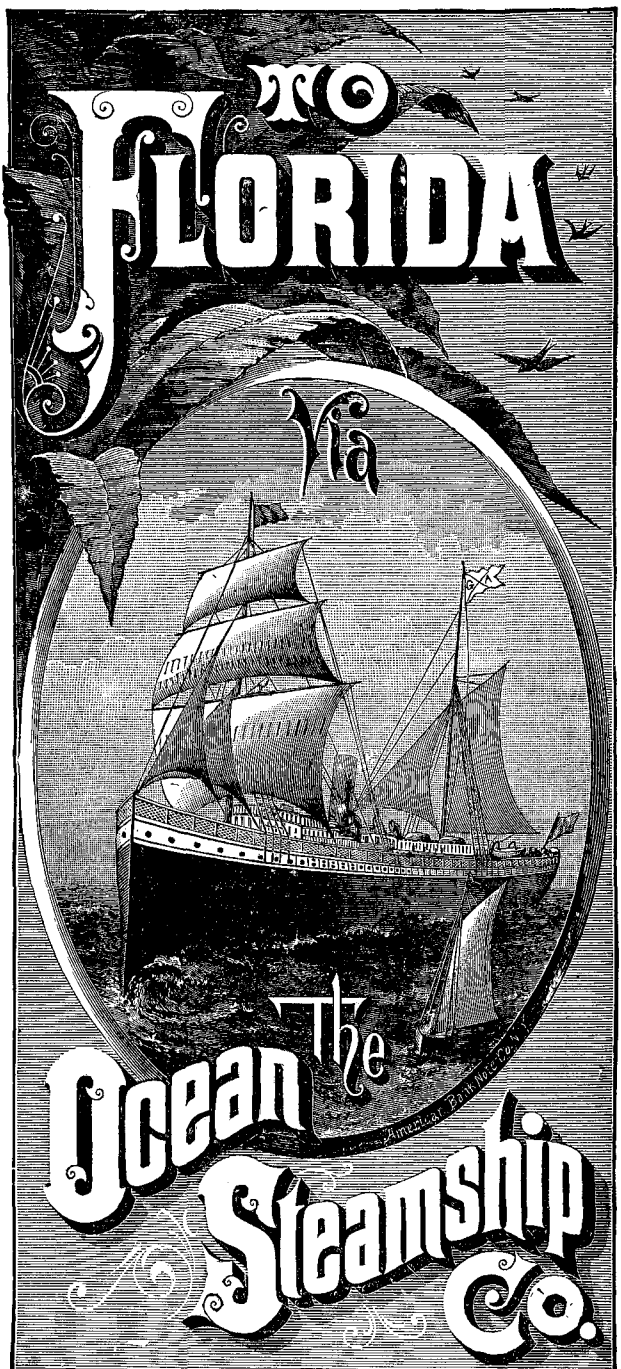

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EQUITABLE
Mortgage Company.

Condensed Statement, June 30, 1890.

Capital subscribed, - -	$2,000,000.00
Paid in (cash), - - - - -	1,000,000.00
Surplus and undivided profits, -	396,716.85
Assets, - - - - -	11,168,685.04

The well-known firm of accountants, Barrow, Wade, Guthrie & Co., of London, Manchester and New York, upon auditing the accounts of the Company as published June 30, 1890, appended thereto the following certificate:

Having examined the books of the Equitable Mortgage Company, we hereby certify that the foregoing accounts and statement are in conformity therewith, and we believe that the accounts fully and fairly represent the position of the Company as on the 30th June, 1890.
Barrow, Wade, Guthrie & Co.
New York, 16th Oct., 1890.

6 Per Cent. Bonds and Debentures.
4 1-2 and 5 Per Cent. Certificates, running three months to two years.
All first-class investment securities bought and sold.

OFFICES:

New York, 208 Broadway. | London, England.
Phila., 4th and Chestnut Sts. | Berlin, Germany.
Boston, 117 Devonshire St. | Kansas City, Mo.

KNABE
Piano-Fortes,

Fifty years before the public, upon their excellence alone have attained an

UNPURCHASED PRE-EMINENCE

Which establishes them as UNEQUALED in

TONE, TOUCH,

Workmanship, and Durability

WAREROOMS:

148 Fifth Ave., near 20th St., New York.
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A Success, and Why.

"It is a craze," some grocers say, surprised that they sell in a day as many canned soups as they used to in a week. A craze? No. A wonderful increase? Yes. But not surprising, for our sales indicate that people believe that we are giving them a better soup and at less cost of time, trouble and money, than they can produce at home. Be sure you ask for and receive a can of ours, otherwise you might think, you also, that "it is a craze" and that there is nothing in it.

Green Turtle, Terrapin, Chicken, Consommé, Purée of Game, Mulligatawny, Mock Turtle, Ox Tail, Tomato, Chicken Gumbo, French Bouillon, Julienne, Pea, Printanier, Mutton Broth, Vegetable, Beef, Pearl Tapioca.

Up-to-the-times Grocers keep them.

A sample can will be sent on receipt of the price of postage, 14 cents.

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The Forum.

JANUARY, 1891.

THE DIVISION OF AFRICA.

AFRICAN affairs have recently been settled by a series of strange events hitherto unexampled in the domain of international law and diplomacy. First, we have seen the spontaneous generation of a state five times the size of France; secondly, the founding in the very heart of Africa of a neutral zone, stretching from shore to shore of the dark continent, where the humane principles of philanthropy, from which Europe is farther and farther receding, are successfully practiced; thirdly, mutual grants of immense expanses of territory made to one another by several European states under the novel name of "spheres of influence," over which the contracting parties had no right whatever, and on which, in fact, no European had ever set foot, as Lord Salisbury himself, the principal author of this remarkable arrangement, ironically remarked. We have witnessed an ingenious and economical application of the maxim "*Do ut des*"—one giving another what is not his to bestow—as was the case in the recent Anglo-German treaty, when Berlin and London allotted themselves shares, not only of the region near the great lakes, but even of some possessions of the Sultan of Zanzibar, who was most courteously deprived of his sovereignty over them.

This system of international treaties, till now quite unknown, has been the result of long and difficult negotiations which must

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be followed step by step. M. Emile Banning, the author of "The Political Division of Africa," says:

> "The annexation of Africa to the civilized empires of the world, the dividing of its vast territories among the nations of Europe, the initiation, under their guidance, of millions of savages into higher conditions of existence, will certainly be one of the most momentous events of our age."

Let us first examine the origin of the Congo Free State. We may say that it sprang complete from the head, or rather from the heart, of the King of the Belgians, like Minerva from the head of Jupiter. It came into existence in a far more marvelous manner than the Indian Empire, the object of Tocqueville's great admiration. It was born in Brussels, not in Africa, and was the outcome of a series of cleverly-combined diplomatic transactions, being in no way due to conquests or to violent annexations.

When Belgium was separated from Holland, in 1830, she lost the magnificent colonies which her northern neighbors had brought as a dowry when the kingdom of the Netherlands was founded, in 1815. As the population of Belgium is denser than that of any other country, and as her industries are more extensively developed, there was a fear that outlets for her trade would be lacking in these times of protectionism, when all countries are raising their import duties. Since Leopold II.'s accession to the throne, his great object has been to secure colonial possessions to Belgium for her excess of population and production. To this end he founded, in October, 1876, with the aid of eminent African explorers, the International African Association. Its object was to form committees in several countries, with a view to the collection of funds, and to the establishment of a chain of stations across Africa, passing by Lake Tanganyika, to assist future explorers. Accordingly committees were formed, whose presidents were as follows: in England, the Prince of Wales; in Germany, the Crown Prince; in Italy, the King's brother; in France, M. de Lesseps; and in Belgium, King Leopold. Sums of money were subscribed, and stations were opened from Bogamoyo (just south of Zanzibar) to Lake Tanganyika; but when, toward the close of 1877, Stanley reappeared on the Atlantic coast and revealed the immense length of the marvelous Congo River, King Leopold at once turned his attention in that direction. That he might not

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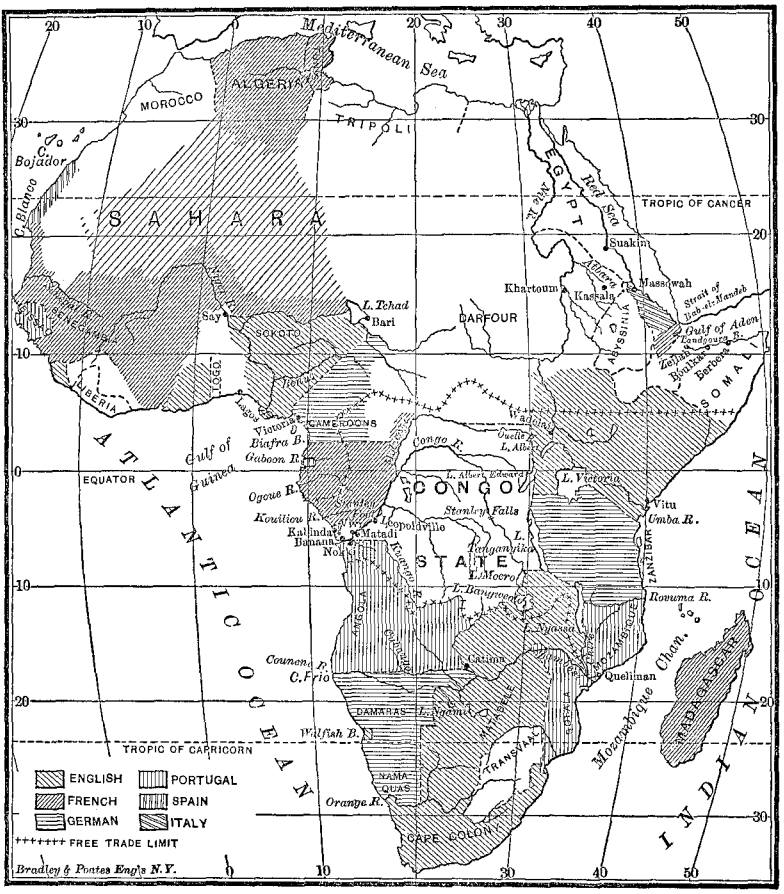
put himself forward prematurely, he acted under cover of an association and a committee of exploration, which were in reality formed and entirely supported by the King's energy and by the large sums of money that he lavished upon them. Through



this association King Leopold maintained Stanley for five years on the Congo. During this time a road was made from the coast to Stanley Pool, where the navigable portion of the Upper Congo commences; and thus was formed the basis of the future empire.*

During this period Stanley signed no less than four thousand

* See Stanley's "Five Years on the Congo."

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treaties or concessions of territory, on which upward of two thousand chiefs had placed their marks in sign of adhesion. At a cost of many months of transportation, necessitating the employment of thousands of porters, light steamers were placed on the upper river which was explored as far as Stanley Falls. Its numerous tributaries also were followed up as far as the rapids that interrupt their courses. Many young Belgian officers and other adventurous explorers established themselves on the banks of the Congo and the adjoining river, the Kouiliou, and founded a series of stations, each occupied by one or two Europeans and by a few soldiers from Zanzibar. In this way the country was insensibly taken possession of in the most pacific manner, without a struggle and with no bloodshed whatever; for the natives, who are of a very gentle disposition, offered no resistance. The Senate of the United States, which was called upon, in 1884, to give an opinion on the rights of the African Association, made a careful examination of the matter, and recognized the legality of the claims and title deeds submitted to them.*

A little later, in order to mark the formation of a state, the Congo Association adopted as its flag a gold star on a blue ground. A French lawyer, M. Deloume, in a very well-written pamphlet entitled "*Le Droit des Gens dans l'Afrique Equatoriale*," has proved that this proceeding was not only legitimate, but necessary. The embryo state, however, lacked one essential thing, namely, recognition by the civilized powers. It existed only as a private association, or, as a hostile publicist expressed it, as "a state in shares, indulging in pretensions of sovereignty." Great difficulties stood in the way of realizing this essential condition. Disputes, on the one hand with France and on the other with Portugal, appeared inevitable.

The well-known explorer Savorgnan de Brazza, following the river Ogoue, had reached the northern bank of Stanley Pool, and having obtained a concession of land from Makoko, a native chief, had hoisted the French flag, thus obliging Stanley to found his station, the present Leopoldville, on the southern bank. France, already occupying the Gaboon, purposed to extend her possessions

* See the report of Senator Morgan in behalf of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, March 26, 1884.

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at least to the northern bank of the Congo. On the south, Portugal claimed rights of sovereignty, dating from the earliest discovery of the country, over the whole western coast of Africa, and over the inland region lying between latitude 5° 12′ and 8° south. This claim included the mouth of the Congo, thus cutting off from the sea the future state of King Leopold. A struggle with these countries would have been hopeless. What could the African Association, so far merely a private company, not existing from an international standpoint, do in opposition to the claims of two nations who could, if necessary, take possession of the disputed territory and defend it by the sword?

In spite of all this, King Leopold did not lose heart. In 1882 he obtained from the French government an assurance that, while maintaining its rights to the north of Stanley Pool, it would give support to the International Association of the Congo. With Portugal it seemed very difficult to come to an understanding. The King endeavored to gain the support of Germany and England, and thought he could count on the latter power, when, in the month of February, 1884, Lord Granville signed a treaty with the Lisbon cabinet, in which, in exchange for important commercial concessions, Great Britain recognized the sovereignty of Portugal over the entire western coast to which she laid claim. This seemed to be a death stroke to the plan of King Leopold, who appeared to have lost all access to the sea for his colony. Fortunately France, Germany, and public opinion in England were all hostile to this treaty, and the English cabinet withdrew it. In order to insure the good will of France, the King had given her a right of preference in case he should realize his plans. Just at this time Prince Bismarck took part in the matter, and in the German Parliament praised highly the work of the African Association. In April, 1884, he proposed to France to come to an understanding, and to settle all difficulties by general agreement. From this proposition sprang the famous Berlin conference, the remarkable decisions of which we shall mention later. At the same time, before the conference opened, Germany signed an agreement with the International Association of the Congo, in which she agreed to recognize its flag as that of a state, in exchange for an assurance that her trade should be free, and that

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German subjects should enjoy all the privileges of the most favored nations. Similar agreements were entered upon with nearly all the other countries of the globe. The delegates of the Association were accepted at the conference on the same footing as those of the different states that were represented there, and on February 26, the day on which the act was signed, Bismarck expressed himself as follows:

"The new State of the Congo is destined to be one of the chief safeguards of the work we have in view, and I sincerely trust that its development will fulfill the noble aspirations of its august founder."

Thus the Congo International Association, hitherto only a private enterprise, seemed now to be recognized as a sovereign state, without having, however, as yet assumed the title. But where were the limits of its territory? A map had been attached to the agreement made with Germany, on which the association was allotted 684,897 square miles, embracing unexplored regions where it was easy enough to trace the frontiers on paper; but, in point of fact, there were the pretensions of both France and Portugal to contend against. With France it was not difficult to come to an arrangement. All the territory north of the Congo and of one of its tributaries, the Mobangi, was conceded to her, and she thus took possession of the basins of the Ogoue and the Kouiliou, and of the stations the association had founded on the latter river. Portugal, however, was more difficult to manage, for here the contested point was the possession of the mouth of the Congo. Thanks to the interference of France, after prolonged negotiations an understanding was arrived at on February 15, 1885, by which both parties were satisfied. They agreed that Portugal should take possession of the southern bank of the Congo up to its junction with the little stream Uango, above Nokki, and also of the district of Kabinda, forming a wedge that extends into the French territory on the Atlantic Ocean. The International Congo Association—for such was still its title—was to have access to the sea by a strip of land extending from Manyanga (west of Leopoldville) to the ocean, north of Banana, and comprising, in addition to this port, Boma and the important station of Vivi. These treaties granted the association 931,285 square miles of territory, that is to say, a domain eighty times

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the size of Belgium, with more than 7,500 miles of navigable rivers. The limits fixed were, on the west, the Kuango, an important tributary of the Congo; on the south, the sources of the Zambesi; on the east, the Lakes Bangweolo, Moero, and Tanganyika, and a line passing through Lake Albert Edward to the river Ouelle; on the north, a line following the fourth degree of latitude to the Mobangi River on the French frontier. The whole forms one eleventh part of the African continent.

The association became transformed into a state in August, 1885, when King Leopold, with the authorization of the Belgian Chambers, notified the powers that he should assume the title of Sovereign of the Independent State of the Congo, the union of which with Belgium was to be exclusively personal. The Congo is, therefore, not a Belgian colony, but nevertheless the Belgian Chambers have recently given valuable assistance to the King's work; first, in taking, on July 26, 1889, 10,000,000 francs' worth of shares in the railway which is to connect the seaport of Matadi with the river port of Leopoldville, on Stanley Pool, and, secondly, by granting a loan of 25,000,000 francs to the Independent State on August 4, 1890. The King, in a will laid before Parliament, bequeaths all his African possessions to the Belgian nation, authorizing the country to take possession of them after a lapse of ten years.

Colonial history offers no other example of such rapid development as that of King Leopold's enterprise. Thanks to the stations established along the banks of the river, there is perfect order and safety as far as Stanley Falls. Twenty-seven steamers, fourteen of which belong to the State and six to the *Compagnie Belge du Haut Congo*, ply the waters of the upper river and its tributaries, and Catholic and Protestant missionaries have stations there, under the protection of the flag with the gold star. Lower down the river there is even an administrative and judicial system, well organized and perfectly established. The value of the exports—ivory, india-rubber, palm oil, copal, sesame, etc.—amounted in 1885 to nearly 9,000,000 francs, and the expenses of the State were 3,000,000 francs. Commerce cannot fail to increase prodigiously as soon as the railway from Matadi to Leopoldville is opened. At present all goods

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have to be carried by porters from the upper Congo to the sea coast, which necessitates such heavy expense that the colonial produce cannot compete with other produce in the European market. When the railway is built all this will be altered. The whole of central Africa will be opened up to trade, for the Congo will be the only river of the dark continent that will give access to it, the courses of all the others being checked by rapids and falls. On the plateau beyond Stanley Pool the climate is less detrimental to Europeans than that of India or that of the Dutch Indies. There are already plantations there, and the natives apply themselves willingly to agricultural pursuits. We see, then, that King Leopold's enterprise, whose international existence was first recognized by the United States Congress, is destined to have a great future.

It is not less interesting to study the manner in which the civilized states have sanctioned in Africa those humane principles which they are more and more abandoning in Europe, namely, free trade, equality for all nationalities, neutrality, perpetual peace, and arbitration. King Leopold's scheme had attracted general attention to Africa; and France, Portugal, England, Italy, and Germany were anxious to extend the limits of their possessions or to acquire fresh ones. Conflicting interests and rival ambitions threatened serious difficulties. To avoid these, France and Germany proposed a conference at Berlin, where all the powers interested in African affairs should be represented. The object of this conference, where, as we have seen, the rights of the International Association were recognized, was not to limit the possessions of the different states, but merely to insure the peaceful development of colonial and commercial enterprise in Africa. Having frequently written on the Congo question since the year 1876, I tried to prove in 1883* that the Congo should be neutralized, and that a special international commission like that of the Danube should be formed, composed of representatives of all interested states, with a view to the superintendence of the river, its maintenance in navigable condition, the care of beacons and lights, and the enforcement of trea-

*"Contemporary Review"; and "*Revue de Droit International*," XV., p. 254.

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ties. The devoted president of the Red Cross Society, M. Gustave Moyhier, completed the program by urging free navigation, free trade, the complete suppression of the slave trade, and a limit to the sale of spirits. In spite of the many conflicting interests represented, the deliberations and resolutions of the Berlin conference were inspired by a sentiment of the joint responsibility and fraternity of nations. Nothing can more clearly mark the progress recently made in international law and in civilization.

The zone to which the decisions of the Berlin conference apply, comprises, on the Atlantic coast, all the basin of the Congo, and, toward the Indian Ocean, the region extending as far as the great lakes, between the fifth degree of north latitude and the mouth of the Zambesi. Throughout this region commercial liberty is absolute. All vessels, without distinction of nationality, even those of states that took no part in the conference, have free access to all ports and to all rivers. Goods imported by sea or by land are free from all entrance duty or transit duty, save a small tax to be levied under certain conditions as compensation for sums laid out in the interest of navigation. Any differential treatment with regard either to vessels or to merchandise is forbidden. No privileged monopoly can be granted, and citizens of all nations may enjoy the same civil rights. Freedom of conscience and of worship is guaranteed to all, and missionaries, learned men, and explorers are objects of special protection. The slave trade is forbidden, and each of the powers undertakes to use all possible means utterly to abolish it, and to punish those who carry on the traffic. The territory comprised within the zone of commercial liberty is considered neutral. In case of war between the signers of the agreement, no hostilities are to be carried on within these limits, and this zone is to be considered as belonging to a non-belligerent state. If differences should arise, the various states agree, before having recourse to arms, to refer the case to the decision of friendly powers. An International Congo Commission is created, composed of delegates from all the states interested, the representative of each having one vote. The duty of this commission is to look to everything that concerns the navigation of the river; and the various governments, in the event of difficulties with respect to

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the application of the principles of the convention, may have recourse to its services. The regulations referring to commercial liberty, to free navigation even in time of war, and to the equality of foreigners and natives, are equally applicable in the basin of the Niger. The convention, anticipating that cases are likely to become frequent when European states will take possession of fresh territory in Africa, agreed, in order that these occupations may be valid, that any power so doing shall at once inform the others, who can then make objections if they so desire. All friends of humanity can but admit that these regulations are most admirable. Why should their application be confined to a certain zone of the dark continent?

The delegates of the powers concerned in the Berlin convention met in 1890, at Brussels, to consider what measures should be adopted definitely to abolish the slave trade, and to put a stop to the burning of villages, the massacre of their inhabitants, the laying waste of vast tracts of land, and all the abominations attendant on this odious traffic. More than one difficulty arose in the course of the conference, and more particularly with regard to the right of searching vessels at sea, which France refused to admit; but in the end humane feeling predominated, and, by means of a few reciprocal concessions, an agreement was arrived at. All the powers undertook to do what they could to suppress the slave trade, and to this end rigid supervision is to be maintained on the coasts and at all ports. The dhows, or vessels usually employed for the transport of slaves, may be stopped and taken to a neighboring port to await judgment, whatever may be the colors they fly. In order to check the trade at its source, the conference recommended the creation of strongly-fortified inland stations, the organization of flying columns, the construction of roads, railways, and telegraph lines, the establishment of steamers on the lakes, and the prohibition of the importation of completed arms and ammunition into the territories where the slave trade exists. Even the Mohammedan states, where domestic slavery flourishes, have undertaken to forbid the importation and transit of African slaves. Finally, the conference decided to adopt certain measures in order to lessen the amount of distilled liquors imported. The trade is entirely forbidden on all territory where it has not

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already a footing, and elsewhere it is subjected to a duty of fifteen francs per hectoliter, which duty is liable to be raised to twenty-five francs after a lapse of three years. This legislation is, however, clearly insufficient. European distillers should not be allowed to poison and stupefy the poor natives under pretense of freedom of trade. The importation of intoxicants ought to be absolutely forbidden, or a prohibitory tax ought to be put upon them. At Berlin the conference did not dare to attack his diabolical majesty King Alcohol, but he was wounded at Brussels, and let us hope that at the next meeting he will receive his death blow.

The way in which the European states have divided Africa between them is not less worthy of attention than the facts we have already noticed. As Mr. David Dudley Field remarked in the recent congress of the Peace Association at London, these possessions might have been disputed by force of arms, with bloodshed on all sides; but instead of this, all has been settled peaceably. Certainly this has not been done without some degree of difficulty or without occasional offense in some quarters; but still the peace has never been threatened. Diplomatists have taken the place of generals and admirals, and the pen has been substituted for the sword.

Some new principles of international law governed these arrangements; among others, that of the "protectorate," that of the "zone of influence," and that of the "*hinterland*." A protectorate simply means the taking possession of a province belonging to another state, and the administration of it at pleasure. It is, in point of fact, annexation, though the rights of the suzerain are respected nominally. Protection in this sense is synonymous with spoliation. For instance, the French acted on this principle in Tunis, and the English at Zanzibar. The zone of influence is a concession, made to a given state by other states, of a territory over which no one of them has any right. The theory of the *hinterland* (backland) is of German origin. According to this theory, when a state occupies the coasts of a certain region, this occupation may be extended inland to an indefinite distance, until it comes into contact with the *hinterland* of another power. Such principles necessarily induced conflicts and difficulties,

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for as there was nothing to prevent any given country from allotting to itself, on the map, a zone of influence or a *hinterland*, shocks could not be avoided between different nations. If serious conflicts have been prevented hitherto, credit is due to the spirit of conciliation and to the love of peace which have inspired all the treaties which we must now consider.

The first of these, dated May, 1885, is between England and Germany, and limits the sphere of action of the two powers in the Gulf of Guinea. England, because of the enterprise of her explorers and merchants, had long a strong position—which has since been secured—on the lower Niger and the Benue; and the port of Lagos had grown into an important town. Farther east, English missionaries had established the station of Victoria in the mountainous region of the Cameroons. On the other hand, various Hamburg houses had trading stations there. In the month of May, 1884, the cabinet in London sent an order to Consul Hewett to hoist the English flag in this region, and to proclaim its annexation to the British Empire; but the well-known German explorer Nachtigal proclaimed the sovereignty of Germany over the district of Togo, west of the Niger, on July 5, and on the fourteenth of that month over the Cameroon territory. The English consul, who reached the spot five days later than the Germans, could do nothing but protest, and assert the prior rights of the British crown. In October of the same year, Bismarck gave notice of the establishment of a German protectorate over the entire south-west coast of Africa from the Orange River to Cape Frio, with the sole exception of Walfish Bay, which was occupied by England. Germany was thus clearly encroaching in a very decided manner on territory apparently reserved to England. But the question arose whether it was worth while to quarrel over a few strips of land in the dark continent, and whether the friendship of the great military power was not well worth some small sacrifices on the part of the English government. After prolonged discussion an understanding was arrived at, which took the form of a mere exchange of letters, not of a treaty. Each of the two powers undertook not to acquire territory, not to accept protectorates, and not to impede the extension of the other's influence in

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the regions reserved to it. This is now the sort of formula employed for arrangements of this description.

Germany thus commenced her colonial career in Africa by a masterly stroke. By a mere scratch of the pen she became possessed of three colonies, namely, the district of Togo (a narrow strip of land which gives her access to the upper Niger); the Cameroons, with the *hinterland* as far as Lake Tchad; and, finally, the district of the Namaquas and the Damaras, bordered on the north by the river Counene and on the south by the Orange River; making altogether ten degrees of coast, with the *hinterland* as far back as the approach to Lake Ngami. Such great successes, so easily secured, served only to stimulate the colonial appetite of Germany, and in the month of September, 1884, some explorers, under the guidance of Dr. K. Peters, advanced into the heart of eastern Africa toward Lake Tanganyika, and concluded treaties with the local chiefs, by virtue of which the foreigners took possession of about 60,000 square miles of land. They offered this vast territory to the German government, who proclaimed a protectorate and assumed sovereignty over it.

A little later, the German protectorate was further extended to Vitu and to the coast of the Somalis. This sudden and audacious step awoke the Sultan of Zanzibar, who at once laid claim to all the *hinterland* as far as Lake Tanganyika. It also aroused England, whose influence was predominant at Zanzibar, and whose project was to acquire a zone of influence on Lake Victoria, and to connect it with the coast by a railway. But here, again, the firm attitude of Germany induced the English cabinet to waive its claims. Two agreements were signed between the two powers, one dated November 1, 1886, the second July 1, 1890. The following situation is the result: Germany possesses in east Africa a vast expanse of territory, bounded on the south by the Portuguese possessions, that is to say, by the river Rovuma; on the west by Lake Tanganyika and the frontier of the Congo State; and on the north by a line starting from the mouth of the river Umba, on the Indian Ocean, following the Kilimandgero chain, and reaching Lake Victoria at about the first parallel of south latitude. The zone near the coast, and the ports reserved at the outset to the Sultan of

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Zanzibar, have just been taken possession of by the German government for an indemnity of 7,000,000 marks. In east Africa, Germany obtained from England a long and narrow strip of land which gives her Namaqua territory communication with the upper Zambesi. This arrangement, which cuts in two what is known as the "Wasp's Waist," deprived England of the means of connecting, as she hoped to do, her possessions on the upper Nile with those of the austral region north and south of the Zambesi. In exchange for this concession, she obtained only the protectorate of Zanzibar, and the possibility of extending her zone of influence north of Lake Victoria and the river Umba, in the direction of Egypt and Abyssinia.

By abandoning first Khartoum and afterward General Gordon, the English government committed an offense against civilization. To maintain and protect the sovereignty of Egypt, which extended along the Nile from the mouth of the river to the province of Wadelai, on Lake Albert, not one half the exertions and the money would have been requisite that were spent on the unfortunate and tardy expedition for the relief of Gordon. The celebrated African explorer, Cameron, had already explained that, by establishing telegraphic communication between the last Egyptian station on Lake Albert and the cape, England's zone of influence might, without much difficulty, be extended from the northern to the southern part of the continent, and, as I have shown in another article,* civilizing influences would have penetrated to these regions. The competition with Germany and the sacrifices that will have to be made some day to regain lost ground, would all have been avoided. The error then committed is now so apparent that, as I write these lines, there is some question of dispatching an expedition from the English army in Egypt to reconquer Khartoum, and consequently the Soudan. This will be done sooner or later.

The territories taken possession of by Germany in Biafra Bay and in the Gulf of Guinea were in contact with French possessions. In September, 1884, Prince Bismarck made an effort to come to terms, and in so courteous a manner that it deserves

* "Egypt for the Egyptians," in "The Fortnightly Review," December, 1882.

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special reference. "If," he said, writing to the French cabinet, "our possession of certain territories in Africa is not in accordance with the rights or the political aims of France, it is not our intention to maintain our hold there." And, in point of fact, on December 24, 1885, the limits between the possessions of the two countries were definitely fixed, without the smallest difficulty with regard to either the Togo or the Cameroon district. Between France and England various questions remained to be solved with regard to Madagascar, Zanzibar, the basin of the Niger, and the coast of the Gulf of Aden. These have all been settled by three different agreements, dated respectively December 17, 1885, June, 1887, and August 5, 1890. England recognizes the protectorate of France over Madagascar, and France reciprocally that of England over Zanzibar. On the Gulf of Aden, France remains in possession of the north side of Tandgoura Bay, with the *hinterland;* while England has the south side, with the ports of Zeilah, Boulkar, and Berbera, and eventually will have also the *hinterland.* In the north-west, the zone of influence of France extends over the Sahara, from Algeria and Tunis to a line connecting Say, on the upper Niger, with Bari, on Lake Tchad. England has a right to the basins of the Niger and of the Benue, to the south of the aforementioned line, as far as the coast and inclusive of the sultanship of Sokoto. The French possessions, as we see them on the map, are of immense extent. They stretch uninterruptedly from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic coast of Senegambia, and, by a strip of land too small to be shown on the map, bordering the German Togo district, to the Gulf of Guinea. In addition to this, there is the French Congo territory, and the magnificent island of Madagascar, coveted since the time of Louis XIV.

Portugal remains to be considered. A settlement with this country was imperative; for its colonies, which dated from the earliest discoveries, adjoined on all sides the possessions so generously distributed among themselves by all the great powers. Thus several agreements were entered upon: first, one between Portugal and the Congo State, February 14, 1885, settling the confines of the latter's possessions, as already indicated; then one on May 12, 1886, with France, to fix the limits of the

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Kabinda territory in French Congo, and those of Bissao in Senegambia; and, finally, some months later, on December 30, 1886, one with Germany. The confines of the German possessions on the Atlantic Ocean were determined to be the rivers Counene and Cubango, and an imaginary line terminating at the falls of Catima, on the Zambesi; and the possessions on the Indian Ocean were to end at the river Rovuma. But difficulties were in the way of an arrangement with England. On the one hand, Portugal, by virtue of her ancient rights, claimed an entire zone crossing Africa from Angola to Mozambique, Queliman, and Sofala—that is to say, the whole region of the Zambesi; and, on the other hand, England insisted on her right to a portion of territory as a link to connect Matabele-land and her southern possessions with those to which she laid claim north of the Zambesi toward Tanganyika and toward the mountainous regions of Chire and Blantyre. These pretensions were in direct opposition, and it was impossible to reconcile them, as in previously-mentioned instances, by grants of a few hundred square miles of *terra incognita*. Nevertheless, an agreement was reached on August 20, 1890, by which England secured what she wanted. She thus obtained the region north of the Zambesi, bordered on the west by that river from the point where it commences to flow southward; on the north and east by Lake Nyassa, including the Blantyre district, where are many important English mission stations; and on the north also by the German possessions and the Congo State. This agreement, as is well known, was most violently opposed by public opinion in Portugal, and up to the present moment no minister has dared to advocate it. The Abren cabinet, just now formed, has decided, it is said, with the King's consent, not to agree to it. The result of all this is a political crisis so intense that even the monarchy is threatened. In the mean time England is taking active measures, and the newspapers announce that her gunboats are proceeding up the Zambesi to take possession of the disputed territory. But it is now said that the central European powers of the triple alliance intend to interfere on the lines of the Berlin conference.

There remains also a serious difficulty between Italy and England. The Italians want their share of the African cake.

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Encouraged, it is said, by the English government, they founded a colony on the coast of the Red Sea, on a spot formerly supposed to belong to Egypt, between the eighteenth degree of north latitude and the strait of Bab-el-Mandeb. The central point of this colony is Massowah, and Italy is desirous of extending it inland, for on the coast it adjoins, on the north, the possessions of Egypt at Suakin, and on the south those of France. As an unoccupied portion of territory still separates Italy from her two neighbors, no frontier regulations have so far been judged necessary. However, within the last few days we have been informed that negotiations are on foot between the cabinets of London and Rome with reference to the limits of Italy's zone of influence, or *hinterland*, but that they have been suspended because the powers have failed to come to terms as to the possession of Kassala, now in the hands of the Mahdists. "Kassala is essential to us," say the Italians, "for through it we reach the Atbara, a tributary of the Nile; and only thus can we secure an active trade for Massowah." "We quite understand this," England replies, "but we, as guardians of Egypt, cannot admit the complete alienation of an important place which she has momentarily lost, but which she will one day retake." The truth is that Kassala commands Khartoum, and Khartoum commands not only Egypt, but all that vast region lying between Lakes Tchad and Victoria and the Nile. The English hope to reach the Soudan and Darfour either by Lake Victoria or by the Nile, and have no desire to meet the Italians there. We must mention, in conclusion, that Spain has proclaimed sovereignty over the coast of the Sahara from Cape Bojador to Cape Blanco, and over the territory on Corisco Bay south of the Gaboon River.

Now if we compare the map of Africa of ten years ago with the present map, we find immense changes. No parallel can be found in the history of the world. Quite recently, save Algeria in the north and Cape Colony in the south, the European powers, even France in Senegambia and Portugal in Angola and Mozambique, possessed only a few isolated posts around the coast. At the present time the whole of the vast African continent, except the central portion surrounding Lake Tchad, has been divided up, and six states have allotted themselves immense de-

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pendencies. However unprecedented the proceedings attending this partition have been, all friends of humanity can but rejoice at the result. In the first place, the most admirable principles have been admitted to govern all the central zone, including free trade, liberty of worship, equality for all alike, and peace based on neutrality. Even on soil where the states pursue their own interests, will arise centers of civilization and progress. One inestimable benefit will result from this, namely, the suppression of the slave trade, which devastates the dark continent, and which, it is calculated, condemns yearly about half a million human beings to death from ill-treatment or starvation. The Brussels conference of 1890 urged the powers to use the severest measures for the suppression of this iniquitous traffic; and as almost all the seaports are now held by European nations, the transport of slaves by sea will become impossible. There will be then no market but the Soudan, and the means of payment there are limited. The slave trade is therefore destined to succumb, for it will cease to profit those who carry it on. The United States, which abolished slavery at such immense cost, cannot fail to applaud this result. In point of fact, an entire continent has taken its place in the economic and social world, precisely as if it had just been discovered. No one can as yet foresee the consequences of these great changes.

Émile de Laveleye.

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FORMATIVE INFLUENCES.

THE question which is presented to me by the editor of the FORUM has reference to the earlier years of life, and to the influences which then determined the peculiar work and character of the later years. It is a question which, in any aspect of it, can be answered only in part, and one which, in some of its bearings and relations, cannot be answered at all. No man whose work has been moving forward for a quarter of a century can bring distinctly before his own mind all the varied things which co-operated, at the beginning, in causing him to become what he has become, or to do what he has done. Much less can any one set all these things before others, and thus ask them to look in upon parts of his life and of his inner history which are most sacred to himself. The story of the formative influences, like that of the education of the man, must, from the necessity of the case, be an imperfect one. What it leaves out must be more important and more interesting than what it records. What it reveals to the writer of it must be far richer in suggestion and helpfulness than what it tells, or can tell, to the reader.

With these limitations, my story of the formative influences is as follows. My occupation in life has been, in a certain sense, twofold. I have been a preacher and a teacher; or, to speak with more absolute accuracy, a college teacher having the right, and to some extent exercising the function, of a Christian preacher. If I may make the distinction which was sometimes made in former days between occupation and profession—the latter word being used only with reference to the three so-called learned professions—I have had my place in the profession of the ministry, while my work and duty have been assigned me in the sphere of college instruction. The influences which have impelled me along each of the two lines are worthy of mention, and are even essential to the fullness of the record.

I was not "consecrated to the ministry"—if I may use an

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expression which has gathered about itself a kind of special religious interest for many minds—and I cannot say, as Dr. Peabody does in his article on this subject, that "my profession as a clergyman was determined for me from my birth." My father and mother were not thus disposed to set apart their children for any particular work in life, before the children themselves should be able intelligently to determine the question of their own future. Nevertheless, they had thoughts, and half-plans as it were, for their children, as I suppose all parents have; and they were wont to talk of me, the youngest of the household, as the one who would in after years become a minister. Their talk on the matter, from time to time, affected my boyish mind from the beginning in no inconsiderable degree. It did not carry with it any constraint, indeed, but it led me to feel that the natural movement of life would be toward and into this profession, if I should prove worthy of it in character. Thus I grew up through childhood and youth with the thought and expectation that what had been, by a sort of common consent of the household, prophesied respecting my future, would be realized. I took for granted, as I may say, that I should study for the ministry when the proper time should arrive, and gave myself to my duties and pleasures as they came to me in my school and college life, with little or no anxiety as to what was to follow afterward. The question of my life's work seemed to be settled, and I was satisfied with the settlement. I knew, however, that I could turn in my choice and purpose, if I saw good reasons for doing so, at any point in my educational course, without violating any pledges which my parents had given on my behalf, and without distressing their souls. The law under which my life was moving was, in all this matter, a law of liberty. I had, accordingly, the blessing of intelligent freedom, and the joy of a boyhood which had enough of certainty before it to make it peaceful and enough of uncertainty to give it a reasonable independence.

I am presenting here no rules for other households and offering no suggestions for the guidance of my readers. I am telling a story, not giving advice. But, considering all the circumstances of my boyhood, and all that was in my home life and in my own mind, I have reason to be grateful, as I think, that the

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good mother and father dealt with me just as they did—that they gave me the influence of their wishes and thoughts, and yet left me in conscious freedom to choose for myself.

My own thoughts, however, as I entered upon the later years of my college course, and as the questions for the coming time seemed to draw nearer, turned in the same line with those of the older members of the family circle. Of the three professions, the one best fitted for me, so far as I could determine, appeared to be that of the ministry. I had no taste for the medical profession, and no impulse toward that of the law. In the work of the former, I then thought that success could not be secured by my efforts; and I am still of the same opinion. In that of the latter, with the love of peace which has grown stronger within me as the years have passed, and with the earnest desire not to be involved in any way in other men's disputes and quarrels, I should have found much that was forbidding, and, for me, a source of discomfort. Moreover, the demands of these professions did not seem to me to be most fitly met by my natural powers as developed by my education. The ministry and its work, on the other hand, appeared to me to be nearer to my gifts of mind and heart, to my disposition and inclination, to my possibilities of a successful career, and to my desires for a happy and useful life. There was, therefore, no reason for turning aside from the path into which in the earlier days I had been gently led; and so, by the moving power of my own thoughts I was impelled, as I had been previously by the thoughts of others, to go forward in it. Thus it was that I came to the close of my senior year and to my college graduation.

It will be observed by the reader, I presume, that I have mentioned no employments or occupations except the three professions. It seems but a moderate interval since my graduation. It is, no doubt, somewhat longer than it seems. But when I graduated, the three professions divided among them almost all the young men who were educated at our colleges. It is difficult for us now to realize, except as we arrest our thoughts for the purpose, how very recent has been the great development of natural science in our country, and how little time has elapsed since the scientific profession—if we may use this phrase—had its

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beginning. It is equally difficult to appreciate the fact that but a few years ago there was no profession of teaching. There were, indeed, very many and excellent teachers in the country, but teaching was not a profession in the sense in which it is to-day. Thirty and forty years ago, also, the entrance of young men of college education into commercial life was much less frequent than it is in the years that are now passing. The absurd idea that such education interferes with success in business enterprises had a much stronger hold upon the public mind in those days. The college student therefore found himself restricted within comparatively narrow limits. He did not ordinarily look upon a business life as opening its doors to him. The opportunities in the line of science were but few. There was a prophesying or a promise of such opportunities in a not distant future, but there was little present realization of them. As for teaching and the teacher's position, these were thought of as temporary things. A man might teach for three or four years, until he could provide himself with the means of meeting his expenses while he should study law or medicine or theology. But if he was a college graduate, he would not, except in extraordinary cases, think of teaching in schools as a permanent work; while of teaching in colleges it was almost a matter of presumption to have any serious thought, so few and rare were the vacancies to be filled. My thoughts and questionings, accordingly, like those of my classmates and college contemporaries in general, moved in the sphere of the three professions, and the choices were made within that sphere.

I may say at this point, however, in passing, that I might easily have been persuaded, at one time in my boyhood, to give myself to a business life. I have always believed that, if I had chosen such a life, I should have been as successful in it as in any other. But I rejoice greatly that the kindness of God, and the influence and impulse and inspiration of my good mother—who in my early years was the minister and interpreter of God's kindness to me—turned my life into a far different line. I say this, not because I do not appreciate the excellences of a business career, or because I do not honor those who devote themselves to it, but because, being what I am as a man, I now know that

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the richest blessings of my personal experience would have been lost for me if I had not been a preacher and a teacher.

Had I been older at my graduation than I was, or more earnestly desirous of beginning my life's work as soon as possible, I should probably have taken up my professional studies immediately after leaving college. But, by good fortune, I had not been delayed in my school education, as many are, because of the necessity of self-support, or because of a feeling on the part of my parents that a boy should wait until the end of his eighteenth or nineteenth year before his entrance upon his college course. I entered the Freshman Class in Yale College when I was not yet seventeen, and graduated when I was not yet twenty-one. I had the advantage, therefore, as compared with most of those who graduated with me, of time—time which I could give to further studies of a general character beyond the limits of the college curriculum; and accordingly I became a graduate student at the college for a period of two years. During these years the privilege was given me of membership in a small class of able and scholarly young men who were under the instruction of the late President Woolsey. My appreciation of the richness of Greek literature, and also of the blessing and happiness of the scholar's life, was greatly enhanced by my studies with this class. We had before us in our instructor, whenever we met together in his room, a scholar of the best and highest type. It would have been strange indeed, if under such circumstances, and with the impulse of membership in such a class, I had not been inspired with new thoughts and led to look once more at the questions of life. I was thus inspired. The possibilities in another line of working than that along which my mind had previously moved, naturally opened themselves before me; and as they opened themselves, they suggested the possibility of fitness in myself. As time passed on, I renewed these questionings, and turned my thoughts carefully both inward and outward. The decision, however, was not definitely changed. The possibilities referred to were merely possibilities. They could be realized only by those whom fortune should favor. They could not be made a foundation for the choices and determinations of the work of the future. There was at that time, as I have said, no profession of college

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teaching, and none pertaining to the scholarly life, which a young man could select for himself as he might select that of the ministry or that of the law. The growth of the scholar's profession, in this sense of the term, is a growth of the last twenty-five years.

The result of my renewed questioning was, accordingly, the awakening and strengthening of a new interest in the scholarly life, rather than a change of purpose or of plan. There was, at the most, some dividing of the mind, but there was no resolution to give up the profession which had been chosen. When the two years came to their end, the course of professional study was taken up. I placed myself under the instruction of the professors in the Divinity School, and very soon, especially through the influence of the late Dr. Nathaniel W. Taylor, I became inspired with enthusiasm in the study of theology. I was on my way toward the end which I had long had in view.

By one of the accidents of life, however, or, as the thoughtful mind more readily thinks of it, by a providential ordering for the individual career, I was called, almost at the same moment at which I entered the theological school, to a tutorship in the college. It became a necessity, therefore, as I accepted the office, that I should carry on a course of teaching while I was carrying forward my course of study, and should, in this way, be a worker in two lines at once. By another accident, or providential ordering, I was compelled, on entering upon my office as tutor, to become a teacher in the Greek department. This was contrary to my own wishes, but there was no help for it. Man proposes, but God disposes. I did not understand this at the time; but in the ordering of things which was then realized for me, two seeming accidents, one of them unexpected and the other undesired, determined the future of my career. I did not know it, indeed, but the condition in which I was placed became, as it were, a prophecy of the coming years—a foreshadowing of the life's work, in which preaching should unite itself with teaching, and the Greek department should be the sphere for the teacher in the Divinity School.

My occupancy of the tutorial office continued for four years. During this time I completed my studies in the School of Theology and received licensure to preach. I also carried forward my

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college studies so far that I was led to the resolution to continue them still further in Europe. The four years thus gave me much in the way of results for my own mind. They also occasioned, by reason of the resolution just mentioned, a still longer delay of the time for entering upon the permanent work of life.

The principal gift of these years, however, in the matter of formative influences, was the lesson which they taught me as to the work of a college officer, and the best way to discharge it. I learned how to be a teacher, in some degree, of course. One could not meet successive classes for so long a time without having the mind opened to new ideas in this regard. The methods of teaching in those days, however, were by no means the most desirable ones. They were also so firmly established in the public approval that there was less impulse and opportunity for improvement than there is at present. My best learning with reference to this matter came at a later time. But with reference to college government, and to the true relationship between the officers and students of a college, my mind was awakened from the very beginning of my tutorship. The old idea of college administration which characterized the last century had been modified in some respects, indeed, before the middle of the present century. But in the period between 1850 and 1855 much of what was fundamental to that idea still remained. The attitude of college authorities was, very largely, that of a police force. The expectation of college faculties seemed to be that offenses would come, and would come with great frequency. Students, as a body, were too often treated with suspicion. Suppression of disorder, rather than the cultivation of an orderly spirit, seemed to fill the thoughts of the governors. All was governmental. Rules and laws were everywhere, and they were the all-important things. The friendly relation between the teachers and their pupils was secondary, and a matter, in comparison, of little thought.

It fell to my lot, almost immediately after entering upon my office as a tutor, to form the acquaintance of all the students in the institution. I knew every student by face and by name; and not only this, but of a large proportion of them I had more or less of personal knowledge. With those who were in the

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classes which I taught, I came into friendly relations. I learned to know them as I had known my own classmates, and formed with many of them friendships which have been life-long in their continuance. These relations into which I was happily brought with the young men whom I met as an instructor, revealed much to me as to the wisest and best methods of administration. My observation of the weakness and the unreasonableness of the old methods, and of the many failures in their working, added much of new light from another side. I became a believer in a new system, and was fully ready to abandon the old one. I had the pleasure of seeing the beginning of the new era, and of enjoying the first blessings of it. To the classes which graduated at Yale College from 1853 to 1857, I owe many things within this sphere of the college life, and if I have been in any measure successful in the years since then, the formative influence which came from them must be counted as having its share in the results. The sons of those who were members of these classes are now passing through their collegiate career, or are coming forward to enter upon it. They find a better and happier state of things, in all this matter, than their fathers knew. So far as my small part in the change is concerned, they enjoy the inheritance of a good which their fathers helped, though no doubt unconsciously, to originate.

My knowledge as to the best method of teaching—whatever that knowledge may be—came to me, as I have already said, after the ending of my term of office as a tutor. It was the gift of the two and a half following years, which were spent in Germany. There was much for an American student to learn in the universities of Germany when I was there—much that could not be learned at home, and much more that could not be thus learned than there is to-day. But the great blessing of a life in those universities was at that time, as it is now, the mental awakening and inspiration resulting from the scholarly atmosphere. To me this blessing was one of the greatest of my intellectual life. With reference to the matter of which I am now speaking, I saw how scholars of largest opportunities and attainments taught younger scholars and moved them onward in the way of learning. I was lifted in my thought, by what I saw,

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above the things to which I had been accustomed. My mind was filled with new ideas, which have been for me, in all the subsequent years, suggestive of what is beyond themselves, and helpful and stimulating in every way. Education became to me a different matter from what it had been before. I was delivered from what seemed to me a bondage, and entered into the privilege of freedom—a privilege which has brought continually-increasing joy with it as life has passed on in its course. I look back upon those years in Germany, as I suppose all thoughtful men do upon past seasons of their life, with many regrets that I did not accomplish more than I did. But this one greatest thing I secured, and it was worth everything to me.

My student career in the German universities thus supplemented for me, if I may so express it, the lessons of my college tutorship. It added its measure of the knowledge of teaching to what I had already gained as to the best methods of administration. How great the measure of the knowledge actually was, or how wise were the views of administration, I do not pretend here to say. I am speaking of formative influences, not of successful results. I may say, however, without impropriety as I trust, that the movement of the more recent methods of discipline and of teaching has been along the line of what I learned in those days; and I am thankful that I saw what I saw so early in my career. While I was thus seeing and gaining, my mind was of course turned with new and increasing interest toward the university life. A stronger desire for it was aroused within me than ever before. But I was not so desirous for it as to be ready to go anywhere in order to secure its opportunities for study and teaching, and there seemed to be no opening in any place where I should wish to go. My thoughts, therefore, even in the latest months of my residence abroad, were still in the line of the preacher's work. I returned from Europe expecting to become the pastor of a church and to spend my life in the ministry.

Such was my condition of mind when I reached my home. I stood waiting for a few weeks for the call to come, and was expecting to present myself, on a certain appointed Sunday, before a particular church in the vicinity of my home, as a candidate for the pastoral office. Three days before that Sunday arrived,

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however, the question of life was determined for me. I was asked by the corporation of Yale College to become a professor of New Testament Greek in the theological department. The offer of the place was an entire surprise to me. I was not only not then looking for it, but I was fully convinced that no such place could at that time open for any one. I did not even suppose that the corporation was intending to hold any meeting, or to consider the subject of appointing such a professor. But, surprising as it was, there were special reasons, related both to myself and to those nearest to me, which made the offer attractive to my mind. I accepted the professorship, and then looked backward and forward. What the outlook toward the future seemed to reveal, and what the future as it was realized did reveal, of effort and questioning and enjoyment and success, in the life of the school and of its professors, is not within the scope of this article to set forth. But the outlook toward the past seemed to give a revelation of divine planning and ordering in the formative influences. All things seemed clearly to have worked together for good to me, and what I had not understood became manifest as in a moment.

The limit of time for my story is, of course, reached at this point. When the permanent work of mature life begins, the formative influences are already realized, so far as the question now presented for an answer is concerned. Before I lay aside my pen, however, and bid my reader farewell, I may add a word with respect to a special influence for good, which came to me in my course of study as a theological student, and which was strengthened in its power by what was opened to my mind in Germany. It was an influence which is naturally connected with the work of an exegetical scholar. I refer to that impulse which is given to such a scholar, by reason of his occupation and business, to look at all sides of a subject and to seek honestly after the truth. Here, again, I speak of the influence, not of its results. Whatever may have been the measure of the results in my personal history thus far, the influence has been constantly with me. It has been exceedingly helpful to me in all my work, and has tended always to make me grow into larger knowledge and wider views of the truth. It has delivered me from the

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bondage of fear, and from despondency with respect to the future. It has caused the opinions of leaders of theological parties and of educational movements to have for me—as the Congregational doctrine respecting the deliverances of councils states it—the value, and only the value, of the reasons on which they are founded. It has given me great peacefulness in the midst of public controversies, and great confidence that the differences of the present will fade away in a greater and clearer light hereafter. It has added much joy to my personal thinking in all the years, and has opened for me the possibility of a peculiar and ever-abiding pleasure in studying the movements of my own mind. It has done much to help me, so far as the limits of my mental powers permit, to see the beauty of all things.

This influence of which I speak—and I gladly place it at the end of my story—did not begin for me with the schools. It was given to me by inheritance, and through the teachings and inspirations of my childhood's home. The schools, however, gave new strength to it in the subsequent years, and established it as a vital and continuous force for all the future. I feel that I cannot be too grateful for what the schools and the home together bestowed upon me in this regard. They have made my life, in no inconsiderable degree, a happy one, because of this single gift. And the later time answered to the earlier. When the home and the schools had finished their work, the providential ordering carried my life forward in the same line. It assigned me my place of duty in the field of exegetical scholarship for many years, and it has given me from the beginning of my active life work the privilege of being a teacher of young men, and, at the same time, a preacher of the truth. The open mind has been the continual demand of my work and the continual reward which it offered. I trust that, as the years have passed, I have, in some true sense, met the demand and entered into the enjoyment of the reward.

TIMOTHY DWIGHT.

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THE SHIBBOLETH OF LIBERTY.

In the month of April, 1776, the Reverend Martin Sherlock, as may be read at large in his "Letters from an English Traveler," paid a visit to Voltaire at Ferney, and was "treated with great civility and invited to dinner the next day." He presented himself at that time, accordingly, and found the unvenerable octogenarian arrayed in white cloth shoes, woolen stockings, red breeches, nightgown and waistcoat of blue linen, a grizzle wig with three ties, and over it a silk nightcap embroidered with gold and silver. "As we sat down to dinner," Mr. Sherlock relates, "M. de Voltaire said in English, 'We are here for liberty and property.'" It does not appear what meaning these words conveyed to the traveler, nor, indeed, whether they conveyed any. Mr. Carlyle, who quotes them in his "Life of Frederick the Great," judges that they were "a parody of some old speech in Parliament." I venture to think otherwise. Voltaire himself, in his "*Mémoires*," seems to have indicated their true sense. He had fixed his dwelling at Ferney, he tells us, to obtain that security for his wealth, that freedom of person, speech, and action which, as he had learned by experience, were somewhat ill assured in France and in Prussia. "Here," he writes, "I live in peaceful opulence and in the extremest independence," that is, in that full enjoyment of liberty and property for which, as he said in his somewhat halting English, he had gone there.

So much as to the true meaning of this saying of Voltaire's. The matter is worth clearing up, perhaps, for the phrase is full of significance, and may with advantage be considered a little. Whatever may be our feelings toward the patriarch of the *philosophes*, thus much is beyond question, that he possessed one of the clearest intellects which the world has ever seen. It is true that clearness does not necessarily imply profundity; nay, more, that absolute lucidity is often found in combination with ex-

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treme shallowness. And probably, in the present day, the greatest admirer of Voltaire would not claim that any great depth of thought was among his endowments. But, however that may be, what he really did see of any subject lay before him as in sunlight; and this, indeed, is one great secret of the perfection of his literary form. The juxtaposition of liberty and property in his mind, we may be quite sure, was not fortuitous; although it has been reserved for thinkers of other schools to show how close the connection is. We know now, as a matter of fact, that at the dawn of human history personal freedom and single ownership can hardly be said to have existed at all; that the unit of archaic society was not the individual, but the family, whose head possessed despotic power over its members; that common, not individual, possession prevailed; that for long ages the unemancipated son differed in nothing from a slave. The history of civilization, whatever else it may be, is certainly the history of the gradual growth of personal liberty and of private property. The two things arose together, they developed together, they stand together, and they fall together. Property is nothing else than liberty realized. Laboulaye has excellently observed:

> "Liberty and property are related to each other as the fruit to the tree, or as the crop to the toil of the agriculturist. If you touch the one, you touch the other. The stroke which kills one, kills both. Consult experience. What are the free countries? Those which respect property. What are the rich countries? Those which respect liberty."

Property, then, is liberty realized. And, I suppose, liberty is most commonly conceived as the power of doing what one likes with one's own. To pursue one's own good in one's own way, is Mr. Mill's account of individual freedom; its proper limitation being that we do not interfere with others in the pursuit of their own good in their own way—a limitation not altogether easy to respect in a world where the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest are primary laws of life. And, in practice, pursuing one's own good in one's own way means, very generally, putting as much money as one can in one's purse without bringing one's self into the police court. For with money those goods of life which are the well-nigh universal aims of men may be, to a large extent, procured. "*Humana divinaque pulchris*

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divitiis parent." To do what one likes with one's own, and to have as much as possible of one's own to do what one likes with —that, I take it, is the ideal of life usually set before themselves by those who are commonly accounted men of understanding. That is the liberty wherewith we are made free by the much-boasted civilization of the nineteenth century, which has so largely converted business into schemes of gambling called "speculation," and into processes of fraud on "the windy side of the law."

If we pass from private life to the public order, the most common and popular notion of the state is that it is a machine for securing person and property, in the unfettered employment of which at one's own will liberty is held to reside. This is supposed to be best attained by what is called "self-government," or "representative government"; the principle accepted being, as Mr. Mill expresses it, that the nation does not need to be protected against itself; that there is no fear of its tyrannizing over itself. I suppose Rousseau must be held to have most clearly formulated this doctrine in his receipt for making a constitution, which is as follows:

> "To find a form of association which defends and protects with the public force the person and property of each partner, and by which each, while uniting himself to all, still obeys only himself, and is as free as he was before."

In Rousseau's philosophy, liberty is conceived of as lawlessness. That is supposed to be the natural condition of man—his birthright, of which civilization has deprived him.

> "I am as free as nature first made man,
> Ere the base laws of servitude began,
> When wild in woods the noble savage ran."

No shibboleth is commoner at the present day than this of liberty. And the vast majority of the people who use it understand by it the power of doing what one likes, or freedom from constraint by law.

Now, I take leave to say that this is an extremely false conception of liberty. I say that liberty does not reside in lawlessness. I say that law is not its opposite, but its essential con-

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dition. And I say that this is universally true—true in the political order, true in the ethical order, true in the physical order. "Nothing is that errs from law." Everywhere, to ascertain and obey the law is the one way to freedom. Let us consider it a little in detail.

And, first, take the physical sciences. The deeper our insight into nature, the profounder is our apprehension of the great truth that law reigns throughout the universe, dominating the organic and the inorganic, the smallest things and the greatest, the most complex and the simplest, the seemingly most mutable and capricious and the apparently most fixed and stable; penetrating all spheres of knowledge, all realms of nature, all time, and all space. The great achievement of physicists, in these latter days, has been to demonstrate the continuity of natural law. Even at the risk of putting before my readers what is already familiar to them, let me give one instance of what I am saying, from a book which, I remember, greatly fascinated me when a boy, namely, Sir John Herschell's admirable little volume on astronomy. He is speaking of the planetary inequalities known to physical astronomy by the name of "perturbations." When Newton first reasoned his way from the broad features of the celestial motions up to the law of universal gravitation, as affecting all matter and as rendering every particle in the universe subject to the influence of every other, it was impossible for him, owing to the undeveloped state of physical astronomy, to extend his investigations to the mutual perturbations of the planets. But, as Sir John Herschell tells us,

> "What Newton left undone, his successors have accomplished; and, at this day, there is not a single perturbation, great or small, which observation has ever detected, which has not been traced up to its origin in the mutual gravitation of the parts of our system, and been minutely accounted for, in its amount and value, by strict calculation on Newton's principles."

Now, that process which we call the law of gravitation may stand for a type of the laws of nature in general. These laws are facts everywhere within the limits of physical science. Consider the supreme law of attraction. The planet Jupiter is 386,000,000 miles distant from the earth, yet our planet feels its attraction, and is caused thereby to deviate from her appointed

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way round the sun. Again, an electric explosion in the sun makes a magnet on the earth shudder and tremble.

And here let me note the misconception, so prevalent in these days of loose thinking and of looser writing, as to those laws of nature of which we have been speaking. The proper meaning of law is "that which necessarily is." In physical science, necessity has no place. The only sense in which mere physicists have any right whatever to speak of laws, is the sense of ascertained sequences or co-ordinations of phenomena. I freely grant, or rather I strenuously maintain, that the laws of nature are much more than that. But if we wish to know what more they are, we must turn aside from the physicist and inquire of the metaphysician or of the theologian. "The order of nature," St. Augustine tells us, "is the will of God"—"*Dei voluntas est rerum natura.*" The word "cosmos" is excellently explained by Rothe as "*die als zweckvoll gedachte universitas rerum*"—the universe considered as full of purpose. It is an immense variety of causes and forces, issuing from the Infinite and Eternal and tending to return to him by virtue of the supreme law of finality. With which agrees the dictum of Leibnitz, that finality is the light and life of all science. And this age of ours, when astronomy exhibits the majestic harmony of the illimitable universe, when geology reveals the astounding metamorphoses through which our earth has passed, when paleontology lifts the veil from the vast series of changes that have raised our race from its prehuman beginnings to its present height of civilization, when, in a word, all sciences tell the same tale of progressive evolution—surely this is not the age in which materialism should quench the light that illumines the whole scene of nature and that gives us its only rational explanation.

Nobler was the conception of the Hebrew poet, who, in the childhood of the world, revealed the divine concept to his countrymen as Yahveh—he who makes all to be. The laws of nature are necessary, because they proceed from the necessary Being. They are what they are, because he is what he is. "He discreetly veils himself," sings Schiller, "in eternal laws"—"*Bescheiden verhüllt er sich in ewigen Gesetzen.*" Veils himself, and yet manifests himself. For those laws are expressions of

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supreme reason; they are emanations from him who is the Truth, of whom all truth is part. Therefore they are, in the strictest sense, divine. And precisely because they are divine, do they rule us. By learning them, and by conforming himself to them, a man emancipates himself from physical fatality and "breaks his birth's invidious bar"; and so Lord Bacon's dictum, "*Natura, non nisi parendo, vincitur.*" In the natural sciences there is no liberty save in obedience to their laws, eternally true and abiding forever. Here, assuredly, it holds good that "You shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free."

Unquestionably, then, in the physical order, liberty does not consist in doing what one likes. As little does it in the moral order. Here, too, the essential condition of liberty is obedience to law—a doctrine widely discredited in the present day, as I am well aware. Many and influential are the teachers of hedonism, of utilitarianism, of sensism, in various forms, who labor to show that the moral law, in any intelligible sense of the word, has no existence. And the people who hear them gladly are an exceeding great multitude. We may take as a type of them Mr. John Morley, who in his interesting work on "Compromise," uncompromisingly declares: "Moral principles, when they are true, are at bottom only generalizations from experience." But generalizations from experience cannot possibly be, in any real sense, laws. They are merely indications of what is useful or expedient. They may suggest; they cannot command. They may furnish motives; they cannot impose obligations. And the essence of law is necessity. In physical law that necessity is expressed by the word "must," in ethical law by the word "ought." No "generalizations from experience," no considerations derived from Mr. Mill's "utility," Mr. Herbert Spencer's "agreeable feeling," or Professor Huxley's "laws of comfort," can yield that word "ought."

This command of duty, this inner voice in man, Kant has well called "the categorical imperative," because of the unconditioned constraining force which it exercises over us. According to his admirable teaching, the one only worthy motive of action for man, as a moral being, is the moral law speaking to us from within, through conscience. And ethical freedom consists in

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this: that a man emancipate himself from the world of sense and its influences; that he renounce every outer material spring of action, and simply obey the heavenly calling. For the moral law is a divine order throughout the universe, "a just and acceptable and perfect Will," ruling over all, either by its mandates or by its penalties. To apprehend it, and to bring his own will into harmony with it, is the only means by which man can tend without obstruction to his true end, which is to live according to reason. To resist it is to fall into the base captivity of "the sensual and the dull," "slaves by their own compulsion." This ethical contest of volition is the sphere of freedom. The imperative dictate of the moral law implies the power to obey it. "Ought" is a meaningless word without "can." Freedom and necessity are closely interwoven. Will any one ever succeed in tracing the line of demarcation? Probably not, for the roots of freedom are in the domain of necessity.

But I must not here occupy myself with that profound question. It is enough, for our present purpose, to insist upon this primary verity, that, in the moral order, liberty is not independence of law; that, on the contrary, only in voluntary obedience to law is liberty realized. And the reason is because man is not, as Rousseau fabled, naturally good. Atavism is unquestionable truth. There is, Plato taught, a wild beast within us, always ready to overpower us. The wild beast, he added, must be tamed. In all of us there are evil instincts, vile passions, inordinate desires; "the law in our members," to use St. Paul's phrase, "warring against the law of our mind." We may choose which law we will obey, and in the choice lies our probation. But in obedience to the higher law alone is moral liberty. Universally true is the doctrine of Leibnitz, that God, in creating beings, placed within them the laws of their development. The law of man's development is ethical. In proportion as he follows it is he "man and master of his fate." According to the saying of another deep thinker, "*Summa Deo servitus, summa libertas*"—"You shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free."

And if we come to the political order, the like account of liberty holds good. Civil polity rests upon a moral basis, upon the belief that there is an eternal difference between good and evil,

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that there are immutable laws of right and wrong, that there is a nature of things which is ethical, whence rights and duties spring. The moral order is the fundamental fact of social, as of individual, life. In that order is the true source of the authority exercised over us by the state. Man, as man, has no claim upon my obedience; only to the law of right, speaking through human ministers, is my submission due. And political freedom really means living under that law, for then we suffer no wrong. The stupidest of superstitions is the belief that liberty, in the public order, is the necessary product of any constitutional machinery, or of any form of government; and, in particular, that it is the inevitable result of government by numbers. Mr. Herbert Spencer is not without justification from current history when he asserts, in his "Study of Sociology," that "new democracy is but old despotism differently spelt." Long before him Hallam had written: "Popular, that is, numerous, bodies, are always prone to excess, both from the reciprocal influence of their passions and the consciousness of irresponsibility; for which reason a democracy, which is the absolute government of the majority, is, in general, the most tyrannical of all." To this add, if you will, the judgment of Goethe:

> "*Alle Freiheits-Apostel sie waren mir immer zuwider,*
> *Willkür suchte doch nur Jeder am Ende für sich.*"

Yes, Goethe's clear eyes discerned the truth about those "apostles of freedom" who did so much, in his time, to retard the cause of true liberty in France. Their liberalism, it has been well observed, was the diminutive of liberty. They professed it much in the same way as that in which the sophists are said by Aristotle to have professed political philosophy, "without knowing what it is, and wherewithal it is concerned." Their practical application of it Rivarol rightly judged to consist in restricting the liberties of others. They had not the least glimpse of the great truth that liberty is a moral good, having its root in the elemental reason, in virtue of which a man is a law unto himself. They supposed that it was a mere result of mechanism cunningly devised by constitution-mongers. Surely it is high time now for the world to learn the lesson that representative institutions,

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even if they are a reality, and not, as too often happens, an imposture, can do no more than express the mind of the represented. They are but the instruments and pledges of liberty; they are not liberty itself. A very clear and acute thinker, the late Mr. Bagehot, judged their chief advantage over despotism to be in this, that they compel discussion before action is taken. Unquestionably, discussion is an invaluable security of political freedom, if it be rational, that is, if it recognize those "moral laws of nature and of nations" which afford the only true guarantees of individual right, the only effectual protection for the legitimate employment of the energies of human personality. To the ever-deepening apprehension of those laws, as the primary facts of public and of individual life, I confess that I look for the growth of true freedom. Here, too, it holds good that "you shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." Well worthy, in this connection, of being deeply pondered, are certain words of Mr. Carlyle:

"It is not mendacities, conscious or other, that the divine powers will patronize, or even, in the end, put up with at all. . . . On the great scale, and on the small, and in all seasons, circumstances, scenes, and situations, where a son of Adam finds himself, that is true, and even a sovereign truth. And whoever does *not* know it, human charity to him (were such always possible) would be that he were furnished with handcuffs as part of his outfit in the world, and put under guidance of those who do. Yes; to him, I should say, a private pair of handcuffs were much usefuller than a ballot-box, were the times once settled again, which they are far from being!"

W. S. Lilly.

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IS VERSE IN DANGER?

We are passing through a period obviously unfavorable to the development of the art of poetry. A little while ago there was an outburst of popular appreciation of living verse, but this is now replaced, for the moment, by an almost ostentatious indifference. These alternations of curiosity and disdain deceive no one who looks at the history of literature with an eye which is at all philosophical. It is easy to say, as is commonly said, that they depend on the merit of the poetry which is being produced. But this is not always, or even often, the case. About twenty years ago a ferment of interest and enthusiasm was called forth, all over the English-speaking world, by the early writings of Mr. Swinburne and by those of the late Mr. Rossetti. This was deserved by the merit of those productions; but the disdain which, twenty years earlier, the verse of Mr. Robert Browning and Mr. Matthew Arnold had met with, cannot be so accounted for. It is wiser to admit that sons never look at life with their fathers' eyes, and that taste is subject to incessant and almost regular fluctuations. At the present moment, though men should sing with the voice of angels, the barbarian public would not listen, and a new Milton would probably be less warmly welcomed in 1890 than a Pomfret was two centuries ago or a Bowles was in 1790. Literary history shows that a demand for poetry does not always lead to a supply, and that a supply does not always command a market. He who doubts this fact may compare the success of Herrick with that of Erasmus Darwin.

The only reason for preluding a speculation on the future of the art of poetry with these remarks, is to clear the ground of any arguments based on the merely momentary condition of things. The eagerness or coldness of the public, the fertility or exhaustion of the poets, at this particular juncture, are elements of no real importance. If poetry is to continue to be one of the living arts of humanity, it does not matter an iota whether

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poetry is looked upon with contempt by the members of a single generation. If poetry is declining, and, as a matter of fact, is now moribund, the immense vogue of Tennyson at a slightly earlier period will take its place among the insignificant phenomena of a momentary reaction. The problem is a more serious one. It is this: Is poetry, in its very essence, an archaic and rudimentary form of expression, still galvanized into motion, indeed, by antiquarianism, but really obsolete and therefore to be cultivated only at the risk of affectation and insincerity; or is it an art capable of incessant renovation—a living organism which grows, on the whole, with the expansion of modern life? In other words, is the art of verse one which, like music or painting, delights and consoles us with a species of expression which can never be superseded, because it is in danger of no direct rivalry from a similar species; or was poetry merely the undeveloped, though in itself the extremely beautiful, infancy of a type which is now adult, and which has relinquished its charming puerilities for a mode of expression infinitely wider and of more practical utility? Sculptors, singers, painters must always exist; but need we have poets any longer, since the world has discovered how to say all it wants to say in prose? Will any one who has anything of importance to communicate be likely in the future to express it through the medium of metrical language?

These questions are not to be dismissed with a smile. A large number of thoughtful persons at the present time are, undoubtedly, disposed to answer them in the affirmative, although a certain decency forbids them openly to say so. Plenty of clever people secretly regard the Muse as a distinguished old lady, of good family, who has been a beauty and a wit in her day, but who really rules only by sufferance in these years of her decline. They whisper that she is sinking into second childhood, that she repeats herself when she converses, and that she has exchanged her early liberal tastes for a love of what is puerile, ingenious, and "finikin." A great Parisian critic has just told us that each poet is read only by the other poets, and he gives as the reason that the art of verse has become so refined and so elaborate that it passes over the heads of the multitude. But

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may it not be that this refinement is only a decrepitude—the amusement of an old age that has sunk to the playing of more and more helplessly ingenious games of patience? That is what those hint who, more insidious by far than the open enemies of literature, suggest that poetry has had its reign, its fascinating and imperial tyranny, and that it must now make way for the democracy of prose.

Probably there would have been no need to face this question, either in this generation or for many generations to come, if it had not been for a single circumstance. The great enemies of the poets of the present are the poets of the past, and the antiquarian spirit of the nineteenth century has made the cessation of the publication of fresh verse a possibility. The intellectual condition of our times differs from that of all preceding ages in no other point so much as in its attitude toward the writings of the dead. In those periods of renovation which have refreshed the literatures of the world, the tendency has always been to study some one class of deceased writers with affection. In English history, we have seen the romantic poets of Italy, the dramatists of Spain, the Latin satirists, and the German ballad-mongers, exercise, at successive moments, a vivid influence on English writers. But this study was mainly limited to those writers themselves, and did not extend to the circle of their readers; while even with the writers it never absorbed at a single moment the whole range of poetry. We may take one instance. Pope was the disciple of Horace and of the French Jesuits, of Dryden and of the conceit-creating school of Donne. But he was able to use Boileau and Crashaw so freely because he addressed a public that had never met with the first and had forgotten the second; and when he passed outside this narrow circle he was practically without a rival. To the class whom he addressed, Shakespeare and Milton were phantoms, Chaucer and Spenser not so much as names. The only doubt was whether Alexander Pope was man enough to arrest attention by the intrinsic merits of his poetry. If his verse was admitted to be good, his public were not distracted by a preference for other verse which they had known for a longer time.

This remained true until about a generation ago. The great

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romantic poets of the beginning of this century found the didactic and rhetorical verse-writers of the eighteenth century in possession of the field, but they found no one else there. Their action was of the nature of a revolt—a revolution so successful that it became constitutional. All that Wordsworth and Keats had to do was to prove their immediate predecessors to be unworthy of public attention, and when once they had persuaded the reading world that what they had to offer was more pleasing than what Young and Churchill and Darwin had offered, the revolution was complete. But, in order to draw attention to the merits of the proposed change, the romantic poets of the Georgian age pointed to the work of the writers of the Elizabethan age, whom they claimed as their natural predecessors—the old stock cast out at the Restoration and now reinstated. The public had entirely forgotten the works of these writers, except to some extent those of the dramatists, and it became necessary to reprint them. A whole galaxy of poetic stars was revealed when the cloud of prejudice was blown away, and a class of dangerous rivals to the modern poet was introduced.

The activity of the dead is now paramount, and threatens to paralyze original writing altogether. The revival of the old poets who were in direct sympathy with Keats and Wordsworth has extended far beyond the limits which those who inaugurated it desired to lay down. Every poetic writer of any age precedent to our own has now a chance of popularity, often a very much better chance than he possessed during his own lifetime. Scarcely a poet, from Chaucer downward, remains inedited. The imitative lyrist who, in a paroxysm of inspiration, wrote one good sonnet under the sway of James I., but was never recognized as a poet even by his friends, rejoices now in a portly quarto, and lives for the first time. The order of nature is reversed, and those who were only ghosts in the seventeenth century come back to us clothed in literary vitality.

In this great throng of resuscitated souls, all of whom have forfeited their copyright, how is the modern poet to exist? He has no longer to compete—as "his great forefathers did, from Homer down to Ben"—with the leading spirits of his own generation, but with the picked genius of the world. He writes an

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epic; Mr. Besant and the Society of Authors oblige him to "retain his rights," to "publish at a royalty," and to keep the rules of the game. But Milton has no rights and demands no royalty. The new poet composes lyrics and publishes them in a volume. They are sincere and ingenious; but why should the reader buy that volume, when he can get the best of Shelley and Coleridge, of Gray and Marvell, in a cheaper form in "The Golden Treasury"? At every turn the thronging company of the ghosts impedes and disheartens the modern writer, and it is no wonder if the new Orpheus throws down his lyre in despair when the road to his desire is held by such an invincible army of specters. In the golden age of the Renaissance an enthusiast is said to have offered up a manuscript by Martial every year, as a burnt sacrifice to Catullus, an author whom he distinctly preferred. The modern poet, if he were not afraid of popular censure, might make a yearly holocaust of editions of the British classics, in honor of the Genius of Poetry. There are many enemies of the art abroad, but among them all the most powerful and insidious are those of its own household. The poets of to-day might contrive to fish the *murex* up, and to eat turtle, if it were not for the intolerable rivalry of "souls of poets dead and gone."

On the whole, however, it is highly unlikely that the antiquarian passion of our age will last. Already it gives signs of wearing out, and it will probably be succeeded by a spirit of unreasonable intolerance of the past. Intellectual invention will not allow itself to be pinioned forever by these soft and universal cords of tradition, each as slight as gossamer in itself, but overwhelming in the immense mass. As for the old poets, young verse-writers may note with glee that they are being caught in the butterfly net of education, where they will soon find the attractive feathers rubbed off their wings. One by one they pass into text books and are lost. Chaucer is done for, and so is Milton; Goldsmith is annotated, Scott is prepared for "local examinations," and even Byron, the loose, the ungrammatical, is edited as a school book. The noble army of extension lecturers will scarcely pause in their onward march. We shall see Wordsworth captured, Shelley boiled down for the use of babes, and Keats elaborately annotated, with his blunders in classical mythology ex-

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posed. The schoolmaster is the only friend the poet of the future dares to look to, for he alone has the power to destroy the loveliness and mystery which are the charm of the old poets. Even a second-rate verse-writer may hope to live by the side of an Elizabethan poet edited for the Clarendon Press.

This remedy may, however, be considered fantastic, and it would scarcely be wise to trust to it. There is, nevertheless, nothing ironical in the statement that an exaggerated attention paid to historical work leaves no time and no appetite for what contemporaries produce. The neglect of poetry is so wide-spread that if the very small residuum of love of verse is expended lavishly on the dead, the living are likely to come off badly indeed. The other arts, which can better defend themselves, are experiencing the same sense of being starved by the old masters. The bulk of the public neither buys books nor invests in pictures nor orders statuary according to its own taste, but according to the fashion; and if the craze is antiquarian, we may produce Raphaels in dozens and Shelleys in shoals; they will have to subsist as the bears and the pelicans do.

Let us abandon ourselves, however, to the vain pleasure of prophesying. Let us suppose, for the humor of it, that what very young gentlemen call "the might of poesy" is sure to reassert itself, that the votaries of modern verse will always form a respectable minimum, and that some alteration in fashion will reduce the tyranny of antiquarianism to decent proportions. Admit that poetry, in whatever lamentable condition it may be at the present time, is eternal in its essence, and must offer the means of expression to certain admirable talents in each generation. What, then, is the form which we may reasonably expect it to take next? This is, surely, a harmless kind of speculation, and the moral certainty of being fooled by the event need not restrain us from indulging in it. We will prophesy, although fully conscious of the wild predictions on the same subject current in England in 1580, 1650, and 1780, and in France in 1775 and 1825. We may be quite sure of one thing, that when the Marlowe or the André Chénier is coming, not a single critic will be expecting him. But in the mean time why show a front less courageous than that of the history-defying Zadkiel?

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It is usually said, in hasty generalization, that the poetry of the present age is unique in the extreme refinement of its exterior mechanism. Those who say this are not aware that the great poets whose virile simplicity and robust carelessness of detail they applaud—thus building tombs to prophets whom they have never worshiped—have, almost without exception, been scrupulously attentive to form. No modern writer has been so learned in rhythm as Milton, so faultless in rhyme-arrangement as Spenser. But what is true is that a care for form and a considerable skill in the technical art of verse have been acquired by writers of a lower order, and that this sort of perfection is no longer the hall mark of a great master. We may expect it, therefore, to attract less attention in the future; and although, assuredly, the bastard jargon of Walt Whitman, and kindred returns to sheer barbarism, will not be accepted, technical perfection will more and more be taken as a matter of course, as a portion of the poet's training which shall be as indispensable, and as little worthy of notice, as that a musician should read his notes correctly.

Less effort, therefore, is likely to be made, in the immediate future, to give pleasure by the manner of poetry, and more skill will be expended on the subject matter. By this I do not understand that greater concession will be made than in the past to what may be called the didactic fallacy, the obstinate belief of some critics in the function of poetry as a teacher. The fact is certain that nothing is more obsolete than educational verse, the literary product which deliberately supplies information. We may see another Sappho; it is even conceivable that we might see another Homer; but a new Hesiod, never. Knowledge has grown to be far too complex, exact, and minute to be impressed upon the memory by the artifice of rhyme; and poetry had scarcely passed its infancy before it discovered that to stimulate, to impassion, to amuse, were the proper duties of an art which appeals to the emotions, and to the emotions only. The curious attempts, then, which have been made by poets of no mean talent to dedicate their verse to botany, to the Darwinian hypothesis, to the loves of the fossils, and to astronomical science, are not likely to be repeated, and if they should be repeated, they would scarcely at-

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tract much popular attention. Nor is the epic, on a large scale —that noble and cumbersome edifice, with all its blank windows and corridors that lead to nothing—a species of poetic architecture which the immediate future can be expected to indulge in.

Leaving the negative for the positive, then, we may fancy that one or two probabilities loom before us. Poetry, if it exist at all, will deal, and probably to a greater degree than ever before, with those more frail and ephemeral shades of emotion which prose scarcely ventures to describe. The existence of a delicately-organized human being is diversified by divisions and revulsions of sensation, ill-defined desires, gleams of intuition, and the whole gamut of spiritual notes descending from exultation to despair, none of which have ever been adequately treated except in the hieratic language of poetry. The most realistic novel, the closest psychological analysis in prose, does no more than skim the surface of the soul; verse has the privilege of descending into its depths. In the future, lyrical poetry will probably grow less trivial and less conventional, at the risk of being less popular. It will interpret what prose dares not suggest. It will penetrate further into the complexity of human sensation, and, untroubled by the necessity of formulating a creed, a theory, or a story, will describe with delicate accuracy, and under a veil of artistic beauty, the amazing, the unfamiliar, and even the portentous phenomena which it encounters.

The social revolution or evolution which most sensible people are now convinced is imminent, will surely require a species of poetry to accompany its course and to celebrate its triumphs. If we could foresee what form this species will take, we should know all things. But we must believe that it will be democratic, and that to a degree at present unimaginable. The aristocratic tradition is still paramount in all art. Kings, princesses, and the symbols of chivalry are as essential to poetry, as we now conceive it, as roses, stars, or nightingales. The poet may be a pronounced socialist; he may be Mr. William Morris; but the oligarchic imagery pervades his work as completely as if he were a troubadour of the thirteenth century. It is difficult to understand what will be left if this romantic phraseology is destroyed,

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but it is still more difficult to believe that it can survive a complete social revolution.

A kind of poetry now scarcely cultivated at all may be expected to occupy the attention of the poets, whether socialism hastens or delays. What the Germans understand by epic verse —that is to say, short and highly-finished studies in narrative —is a class of literature which offers unlimited opportunities. What may be done in this direction is indicated in France by the work of M. Coppée. In England and America we have at present nothing at all like it, the idyllic stories of Mr. Coventry Patmore presenting the closest parallel. The great danger which attends the writing of these narratives in English is the tendency to lose distinction of style, to become humorous in dealing with the grotesque and tame in describing the simple. Blank verse will be wholly eschewed by those who in the future sing the annals of the humble; they will feel that the strictest art and the most exquisite ornament of rhyme and meter will be required for the treatment of such narratives. M. Coppée himself, who records the adventures of seamstresses and engine-drivers, of shipwrecked sailors and retail grocers, with such simplicity and moving pathos, has not his rival in all France for purity of phrase and for exquisite propriety of versification.

The modern interest in the drama, and the ever-growing desire to see literature once more wedded to the stage, will, it can hardly be doubted, lead to a revival of dramatic poetry. This will not, of course, have any relation to the feeble lycean plays of the hour—spectacular romances enshrined in ambling blank verse—but will, in its form and substance alike, offer entertainment to other organs than the eye. Probably the puritanic limitations which have so long cramped the English theater will be removed, and British plays, while remaining civilized and decent, will once more deal with the realities of life and not with its conventions. Neither the funeral baked meats of the romantic English novel, nor the spiced and potted dainties of the French stage, will satisfy our play-goers when once we have strong and sincere playwrights of our own.

In religious verse something, and in philosophical verse much, remains to be done. The wider hope has scarcely found

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a singer yet, and the deeper speculation has been very imperfectly and empirically celebrated by our poets. Whether love, the very central fountain of poetic inspiration in the past, can yield many fresh variations, remains to be seen. That passion will, however, in all probability be treated in the future less objectively and with a less obtrusive landscape background. The school which is now expiring has carried description, the consciousness of exterior forms and colors, the drapery and upholstery of nature, to its extreme limit. The next development of poetry is likely to be very bare and direct, unembroidered, perhaps even arid, in character. It will be experimental rather than descriptive, human rather than animal. So at least we vaguely conjecture. But whatever the issue may be, we may be confident that the art will retain that poignant charm over undeveloped minds, and that exquisite fascination, which for so many successive generations have made poetry the wisest and the fairest friend of youth.

EDMUND GOSSE.

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THE REVOLUTION IN MEDICINE.

In an article entitled "A Possible Revolution in Medicine," published in the Forum for December, 1888, I wrote as follows:

> "The science and practice of medicine and surgery are undergoing a revolution of such magnitude and importance that its limits can hardly be conceived. Looking into the future in the light of recent discoveries, it does not seem impossible that a time may come when the cause of every infectious disease will be known; when all such diseases will be preventable or easily curable; when protection can be afforded against all diseases such as scarlet fever, measles, yellow fever, whooping-cough, etc., in which one attack secures immunity from subsequent contagion; when, in short, no constitutional disease will be incurable and such scourges as epidemics will be unknown."

The reflections embodied in this quotation arose mainly from the discovery of the bacterial cause of consumption by Koch. Far from seeming to me extravagant, the words just quoted failed to express the possibilities as they appeared to my mind; and I believed that the problem of destroying the bacteria or their products without killing the patient would be solved in the near future. The first steps, at least, of its solution are apparent. While the data for an exact appreciation of the cure for consumption proposed by Koch are by no means complete, sufficient facts exist to warrant a discussion of the subject at the present time. The unprofessional reader should understand that Koch, mainly by reason of his discovery of the cause of consumption, has for several years been the most prominent figure in medical science that has been known in our generation. His methods have been models of scientific accuracy, and the authority of his statements is now almost unquestioned. When he announces to the world that he has apparently cured a certain class of cases of one of the most formidable and destructive diseases that afflict the human race, he awakens an interest that is by no means confined to the medical profession. I shall attempt to give the essence of this discovery, so far as it has as yet been made known; but

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must fill in from my own mind what seems to me to be the *rationale* of the processes employed. If I am measurably correct in my ideas of the processes of cure, humanity has never received from science so great a boon, and tuberculosis will not long be the only grave disease successfully combated by Koch's method.

In an article published by Koch simultaneously in this country and in Germany, on November 14, 1890, the details of the new treatment of several forms of tuberculosis are given. In a Berlin paper, six days later, is a description of the mode of preparation of the "curative lymph." The latter, in all probability, is substantially correct; at least, no correction or contradiction has thus far appeared, and the method is essentially the one that is employed in obtaining poisonous products from other toxic bacilli. The method, as described, consists in placing in an incubating apparatus a pure culture of tubercle bacilli in gelatinized beef broth. The apparatus is divided into an upper and a lower portion by a diaphragm of unglazed porcelain, the bacilli being placed in the upper compartment. In the course of time the gelatine liquefies, and a liquid slowly filters through the porcelain into the lower compartment. This liquid is the curative lymph. The lymph thus obtained may contain a ptomaine, although the tubercle ptomaine, if it exists, has never before been found. Certain ptomaines are obtained from micro-organisms by methods resembling that just described. The toxic ptomaines are produced by the toxic bacilli, and these are supposed to be the direct cause of various diseases, the bacilli being toxic only in so far as they produce these ptomaines. As very many bacilli are not toxic, many ptomaines have no poisonous properties. Probably the production of ptomaines is limited, and in the case of toxic bacilli, those that have produced ptomaines in the body are thrown off, after having, to a greater or less extent, damaged the parts in which they have been lodged; but the organisms thus thrown off, if they find a lodgment in another body, may multiply, produce ptomaines again, and repeat the processes just described. It is in this way that certain diseases are propagated by contagion.

From the meager and disconnected reports that come from Europe, it appears that an analysis of the lymph fails to reveal the

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presence of a ptomaine chemically considered; but the lymph certainly contains one or more substances capable of producing certain of the effects of toxic ptomaines. However, the chemistry of the ptomaines is in its infancy, and we must await exact and elaborate researches before it will be possible to decide upon the composition and properties of the lymph obtained by Koch. The statements made by Koch himself are of a character fully to justify the profound impression they have made upon the public as well as upon the medical profession. Koch's previous career entitles his utterances to the most respectful consideration. A few years since, he discovered the cause of tuberculosis, and this discovery at the present day has no scientific opposition worthy of serious consideration. He now states that he probably has discovered a cure for tuberculosis. I cannot but think that this also will soon become an acknowledged fact.

The lymph used by Koch is simply injected beneath the skin. It undoubtedly acts through the blood, but it has no effect when taken into the stomach. When it is introduced with proper antiseptic precautions, no effects are observed at the point of injection. The general effects are much more marked in the human subject than in the inferior animals, notably the Guinea pig, which is the animal most frequently experimented upon. Making allowance for differences in body weight, "one fifteen-thousandth part of the quantity which has no appreciable effect on the Guinea pig, acts powerfully on the human being." When the lymph is injected in a full dose into the arm of a healthy person, in three or four hours there is pain in the limbs, with tendency to cough, a feeling of fatigue, and difficulty in breathing. These symptoms continue for one or two hours; then follows a severe chill, with nausea, vomiting, and a rise of nearly five degrees in temperature. The symptoms begin to abate after about twelve hours, and then rapidly disappear. These phenomena constitute what Koch calls the "reaction" produced by the remedy. A most remarkable fact developed in Koch's experiments is that a dose of 0.01 cubic centimeter (one sixth of a grain) injected under the skin of a healthy person, or of one suffering from any non-tuberculous disease, produces no reaction,

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but that an equal dose "injected subcutaneously into tuberculous patients, causes a severe general reaction as well as a local one."

After a number of experiments upon animals and upon his own person, Koch employed his remedy in cases of tuberculosis. His first observations seem to have been made upon patients suffering from lupus, a tuberculous ulceration of the skin and subjacent parts, which is much more common in Germany than in this country. This disease, known as "lupus exedens" when it spreads rapidly, is supposed to be due to the tubercle bacillus, which multiplies and extends, destroying the parts involved. The most successful treatment that has hitherto been employed, has been to scrape away the diseased tissue and to dress with antiseptic solutions, and in this way to remove or destroy the bacilli. A few hours after injection of the remedy into any point whatever under the skin, the characteristic general reaction is produced. During the fever the diseased parts become apparently inflamed, and the "lupus tissue becomes brownish and necrotic." After the fever has subsided the swelling decreases, and the growth becomes covered with a crust, which falls off in two or three weeks and leaves a healthy cicatrix. Sometimes one injection will effect a cure, but usually several are required. The phenomena are of course most striking in external tuberculosis, where the local processes can be watched; but it is thought by Koch that similar processes take place in tuberculosis of the glands, bones, joints, lungs, and other internal parts.

In cases of pulmonary tuberculosis, commonly called consumption, the action of the remedy possesses the greatest interest and importance. Statistics show that about ten per cent. of recorded deaths at all ages and from all causes are due to consumption. In England, for the fifty years immediately preceding the adoption of vaccination, which occurred about the year 1800, small-pox contributed about ten per cent. to the total of deaths from all causes. In 1887 the proportion of deaths from small-pox was one tenth of one per cent. Comment upon this comparison is unnecessary. Consumption is primarily due to a deposit of tuberculous matter in the lungs. The deposition of tuberculous matter, its softening, and its discharge by expectoration, constitute the first stage. When cavities have been formed, the

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disease is said to be in its second stage. Of course these two stages may co-exist, either in different parts of the same lung or in the two lungs. The results of treatment by Koch can best be given in his own words:

"Patients under treatment for the first stage of phthisis [consumption] were freed from every symptom of disease and might be pronounced cured; patients with cavities not yet too highly developed improved considerably and were almost cured; and only in those whose lungs contained many large cavities could no improvement be proved. Objectively, even in these cases the expectoration decreased and the subjective condition improved. These experiments lead me to suppose that phthisis in the beginning can be cured with certainty by this remedy. This statement requires limitation in so far as no conclusive experiments can possibly be brought forward at present to prove whether the cure is lasting."

It was found that patients with consumption reacted strongly to a small dose of the remedy—less than one hundredth part of the dose that is required to produce a strong reaction in a healthy person; but as the improvement progressed, larger doses could be tolerated, and when the cure was complete, patients reacted only to the doses required by non-tuberculous persons. In the progress of the cure, the cough and expectoration, which were immediately increased after the first injection, gradually diminished; the matter expectorated became less purulent in its appearance and contained fewer bacilli; the bacilli gradually disappeared; the cough ceased; and within five or six weeks the patients increased in weight. The remarkable fact that consumptives react to a dose of lymph two hundred times smaller than that required to produce the characteristic effects in the non-tuberculous, led Koch to attach great importance to the injections as a means of diagnosis. There are cases in which diagnosis is difficult and uncertain by ordinary methods of exploration, and in which bacilli cannot be discovered in the expectoration. According to Koch, if there is a strong reaction to 0.002 cubic centimeter (one thirty-second of a grain), it is certain that the patient is affected with tuberculosis; while the reverse is true if the required dose is equivalent to that which will produce the characteristic reaction in non-tuberculous persons.

It may safely be assumed that every statement made by Koch himself is true and accurate. He has gone no further than

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is justified by the facts. With this assumption, no one can doubt that Koch has made one of the most important discoveries in the history of medicine; though one who had read the article, "A Possible Revolution in Medicine," even with the enthusiasm of the writer, could hardly have imagined that the revolution could come so soon. If it is true that "phthisis in the beginning can be cured with certainty," it is possible that consumption may be cured in the later stages by supplementing the injections by general hygienic measures of treatment, by antiseptic inhalations, and by other methods that have been found useful. I have not intended to take up the question of preventive inoculation. Though tuberculosis is communicable, it is not so actively contagious as to lead to general inoculation for its prevention. The experiments that have been made in this direction have probably had for their final aim the discovery of a cure for the disease. The direct value of the discovery of a means of curing a disease which is responsible for one tenth of the deaths from all causes, including violence, is indeed great; but the imagination almost fails to grasp the importance that the method would have if it should be extended to other diseases produced by micro-organisms. If we know the exact mechanism of the cure for consumption, it is certain that we shall soon be able successfully to apply this knowledge to the study of other diseases. Speculation and theory necessarily precede intelligent observation and experiment. As a basis for speculation, however, ascertained facts are most useful.

What are the pathological processes which take place in consumption? If an individual has an hereditary or other predisposition to the disease, the tubercle bacillus, when it finds its way into the lungs, meets with conditions favorable to its multiplication. Some individuals acquire the disease in this way; others are able to resist infection. Once fixed in the lungs, the bacillus multiplies and invades the pulmonary structure. After a time it produces something—whether this is a ptomaine or not is practically immaterial—and this product acts as a poison to the general system. Among the effects of this poison is elevation of the body heat. There is no case of progressive tuberculosis without increased temperature. A reduc-

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tion of the temperature to the normal standard is evidence that for the time the malady is not progressive, and the increase in temperature is a measure of the activity of the disease. The increase in temperature is due to the poison produced by the bacillus, and not to the bacillus itself.

Does the poison produced by the bacillus destroy the bacillus itself? This question cannot be answered definitely, but it is almost certain that the bacilli cannot produce the poison indefinitely. In the course of the disease, bacilli are thrown off by expectoration. If no new colonies should be formed, the products of the bacilli might actually cure the disease; but it is probable that in most cases bacilli are transferred from one lung to the other, or from one part to another of the same lung, and that thus the disease is kept alive by auto-infection, the bacilli being able to multiply and to produce the poison again in each new *nidus* in which they may find lodgment. Still, there are cases in which consumption seems to be self-limited, in which it seems to cure itself, probably by the action of the poisonous products of the bacilli in throwing off the bacilli or in destroying the tuberculous tissue. The theory that certain cases of consumption, observed without any medicinal treatment, illustrated the law of self-limitation, was advanced by the late Dr. Austin Flint in 1858, and was maintained by him in his latest writings.

Koch's idea with regard to the action of his curative lymph is that "the remedy does not kill the tubercle bacilli, but the tuberculous tissue." The bacilli that are constantly thrown off in progressive cases of consumption certainly are not killed, for they will produce consumption if inoculated; and even when dried and inhaled they will give rise to the disease. Possibly the statement by Koch that the remedy destroys tuberculous tissue, may include the idea that it renders the tissue in which the bacilli are lodged unfit for their development and multiplication and for the production of their special poison. It may be that there is a conflict between the bacilli and their own poison, that the poison has a tendency to dislodge the bacilli, and that this dislodgment is not complete if the bacilli multiply so fast that they overcome this influence. A logical way to dislodge the bacilli and to throw off the tuberculous tissue would be to re-in-

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force the poison by introducing it into the system. This idea may explain Koch's curative process. He adds the poison without adding bacilli. The poison exists in a certain quantity in tuberculous patients, and produces elevation of temperature and other symptoms; but the multiplication of bacilli from new points of auto-infection is so rapid that the disease progresses. A healthy person can tolerate 0.25 cubic centimeter (four grains) of the poison introduced by subcutaneous injection; but a tuberculous patient, who already has the poison in the system, can bear but little in addition, and 0.002, or even 0.001, cubic centimeter (one thirty-second, or one sixty-fourth of a grain), is sufficient to produce a strong reaction.

It is probable that an active agent in Koch's lymph is essentially the same as the poison produced by tubercle bacilli in the human body, and is a product of tubercle bacilli, which, it may be assumed, grow in Koch's culture medium in the same way that they grow in the lungs, and generate the same product or products. The reaction described by Koch is analogous to the phenomena produced by the tuberculous poison in consumption. If these ideas are in the main correct, it is plain enough that the poisonous products, of the tubercle bacillus at least, act as their own antidotes. It has long been known that the products of certain innocuous micro-organisms that normally exist in the intestines destroy the activity of the micro-organisms and thus limit the processes by which they are generated.

These reflections with regard to the probable mechanism of the action of the curative lymph in tuberculosis, are a logical outcome of views which I have for some time entertained concerning the natural history of typhoid fever. Typhoid fever is a perfect example of a self-limited disease. I have many times watched the progress of this malady under absolutely no medicinal treatment, in mild cases in which no treatment was called for. In simple cases, in which the origin can be distinctly traced to the taking of the typhoid bacillus in drinking-water, a period of incubation of from two to fourteen days is noted. At the end of this time the bacilli have fixed themselves in certain structures in the lower part of the small intestine, and begin to produce a poison, in the form of a ptomaine, which has been iso-

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lated and described under the name of "typhotoxine." This poison finds its way into the blood and produces the elevation of temperature which characterizes the fever. The fever, high pulse, headache, and other symptoms, constitute what may be termed the reaction of the poison. The bacillus is not found in the general circulation, and there is no reason to suppose that it is directly poisonous. The fever continues for about sixteen days, and then spontaneously subsides, presumably because the poison has exhausted itself or has been eliminated. During the stage of fever, the intestinal glands in which the bacilli are lodged have first been swollen and inflamed, and then necrotic; and then the dead parts are thrown off, leaving simple ulcerations. The ulcerations finally heal and the disease has run its course; but during its progress the intestines throw off typhoid bacilli, and these are capable of communicating the malady to other persons. In cases of typhoid fever, it is probable that the typhoid ptomaine dislodges the typhoid bacillus, and that it is competent to do this completely because the extent of the structures in which the bacilli are lodged and multiplied is limited.

A comparison of the natural course of typhoid fever with the process of cure of lupus, as described by Koch, shows many striking points of resemblance. The lupus extends because the tissue in which the tubercle bacilli are developed is not sharply limited, as in the case of the intestinal glands. The poison generated by the tubercle bacilli in lupus is not usually taken in quantity into the blood, and there is seldom any considerable elevation of body heat, or reaction, such as occurs in pulmonary tuberculosis. Heretofore the disease has frequently been cured by removing the diseased tissues or by destroying the bacilli by external applications. I have already described the processes observed in the cure of lupus by Koch's lymph. Following the injection there is a strong constitutional reaction, and the affected parts apparently become inflamed, as do the affected parts in the early stages of typhoid fever. The diseased tissue then becomes "brownish and necrotic." This also occurs in typhoid fever. The necrotic tissue is then thrown off, leaving a healthy ulcer which promptly heals. The same process takes place in typhoid fever.

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I cannot resist the conviction that the idea in the mind of Koch which led to the discovery of the curative lymph, was that a toxic bacillus is capable of producing a poison which would possibly destroy the bacillus, or at least would limit its activity and dislodge it from the system. Probably the curative and active agent in the lymph was obtained from tubercle bacilli and produced by them. It is now said that Koch regards his studies in tuberculosis as complete, awaiting only the results of experience with regard to the permanency of the cure and its application to advanced cases of disease. It is also said that Koch is extending his experiments and is endeavoring to find cures for typhus and typhoid, scarlet fever, measles, and diphtheria. It may be that his line of research will be in the direction of finding a special poison, produced by micro-organisms peculiar to each infectious disease, which will act upon these micro-organisms and the diseased parts as the curative lymph has been found to act upon tubercle bacilli and tuberculous tissue. If this be the case, I may hazard another speculation, which, it is to be hoped, will soon be realized, as were the predictions made in December, 1888.

It is possible, in the light of what has recently been accomplished by Koch, that in the near future many curative lymphs will be discovered, each produced by the special micro-organism of a particular disease. It will then be not too much to expect that these agents will promptly arrest the different diseases to which they are applicable. For example, the typhoid lymph, the diphtheritic lymph, the lymph for measles, that for scarlet fever, and so on, will promptly arrest these diseases and save patients from the degenerations and the accidents which are liable to occur when morbid processes are allowed to run their course; and convalescence will be prompt, because the diseases will not have produced damage which can be repaired only by time. Truly, this would be a revolution in medicine, and it now seems to be impending.

AUSTIN FLINT.

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CONSERVATIVE PROGRESS.

THE past, the present, the future, are, in their essentials, identical. This is why we so often say that history repeats itself. Old Sir Thomas Browne shrewdly observes:

"Every man is not only himself. There have been many Diogeneses and many Timons, though but few of the name. Men are lived over again. The world is now as it was in ages past. There was none then, but there has been one since, that parallels him, and is, as it were, his revived self."

Only non-essentials have changed. As there is a oneness of law through space, so there is a oneness of law through time. The words of Koheleth are as true to-day as they were long ago:

"One generation goeth, and another generation cometh; and the earth abideth forever. The sun also ariseth, and the sun goeth down, and hasteth to his place where he ariseth. The wind goeth toward the south, and turneth about unto the north; it turneth about continually in its course, and returneth again to its circuits. All the rivers run into the sea, yet the sea is not full; unto the place whither the rivers go, thither they go again. That which hath been is that which shall be, and that which hath been done is that which shall be done. There is no new thing under the sun."

But the past, in its essence, is not only the same as the present; the past is also in its essence the sire of the present. For spontaneous generation is as impossible in the moral world as it is now acknowledged to be in the physical. We love to talk of the "logic of events." It is a profound phrase; events have their logic, because events are genealogical, succeeding one another along the line of lineage. In other words, the present is the sum and harvest of the past. This is true of legislations, inventions, philosophies, methods, theologies, morals. The very language by which we carry on the processes of society, the very currency or circulating medium of society itself, is immensely less a manufacture than an inheritance; we instinctively call it our "mother" tongue. Herein is fulfilled the ancient saying, "One soweth, and another reapeth." We are reaping that whereon we labored not; others have labored, and we are entered into their labor. We are reaping to-day in politics the sowings of Wash-

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ington and Alfred and Aristotle; in science, the sowings of Newton and Roger Bacon and Archimedes; in philosophy, the sowings of Kant and Francis Bacon and Plato; in philanthropy, the sowings of Howard and Vincent and Dorcas; in religion, the sowings of Paul and Moses and Abraham. And the harvest is larger than the seed. The secret of reform lies not in revolution, but in evolution—in unfolding along the axis of growth. The prince of reformers came not to destroy, but to fulfill.

Now just because the past is essentially the same as the present, and in fact is the sire of the present, the past also becomes our oracle, speaking with the voice of prophecy, of instruction, and of authority. I remember indeed that Francis Bacon has said that "a froward retention of custom is as turbulent a thing as an innovation." Neither do I forget his aphorism, "*Antiquitas sæculi juventus mundi*"; the poet philosopher meaning, of course, that the present is really old and that the past is really young. Certainly we ought to know more than our fathers knew, for we have reached a maturer stage in the world's life than they reached; the oak, though identical with the nut, is larger. I would not therefore exalt unduly the value of precedents, or conclude that whatever is ancestral must therefore be admirable. On the other hand, I cannot venture to pronounce the conclusions of the past worthless. A favorite American orator, himself one of the doughtiest champions of innovation, was wont to enchain his audiences with a eulogy on "the lost arts." Possibly this Apollo of orators might have found even a richer theme on which to expatiate had he descanted on "the lost virtues."

> "*Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona*
> *Multi.*"

I believe that whatever of real excellence our forefathers taught and practiced should be accepted by us as though it were armed with the scepter of empire, all the more imperial because ancestral. I cannot believe that the judgments of wise men, and the institutions and customs formed in times "whereof"—to use the grand phraseology of Sir William Blackstone—"the memory of man runneth not to the contrary," are to be set aside simply because they are old. Great weight is there in the words of Edmund Burke, whose eloquence was rivaled by his sagacity:

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"It cannot be too often repeated—line upon line, precept upon precept, until it comes into the currency of a proverb—that to innovate is not to reform. Rage and frenzy will pull down more in half an hour than prudence, deliberation, and foresight can build up in an hundred years."

Alas! the tendency too evidently is to undervalue the lessons of the past, and to tread with disdain on its authority. The very word "antiquated" has come to mean "worn out." Poor old Decrepitude must hasten to hobble off the sidewalk, lest it be tripped up by the swaggering gait of cigaretted Adolescence. Let us beware lest we deserve the satire of Pope:

> "We think our fathers fools, so wise we grow;
> Our wiser sons, no doubt, will think us so."

Therefore do I lift up my pen in behalf of reverend antiquity; doubly reverend, first because it is antiquity, and secondly because, being antiquity, it is an oracle. For, as Lord Beaconsfield once said in the House of Commons, "a precedent embalms a principle." Ay, it is time that we turn our faces backward and make salaam to the hoary past, looking unto the magnificent ledge whence we were hewn. And in thus bowing before the past we but obey many an ancient oracle; for example, the summons of the prophet of Anathoth:

> "Stand ye in the ways, and see,
> And ask for the old paths, where is the good way,
> And walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls."

Again, the counsel of Bildad the Shuhite:

> "Inquire, I pray thee, of the former age,
> And apply thyself to that which their fathers have searched out
> (For we are but of yesterday, and know nothing,
> Because our days upon the earth are a shadow).
> Shall not they teach thee, and tell thee,
> And utter words out of their heart?"

Once more, the farewell song of Sinai's lawgiver:

> "Remember the days of old;
> Consider the years of many generations.
> Ask thy father, and he will show thee;
> Thine elders, and they will tell thee."

But in thus doing homage to the past, let us at the same time see to it that our homage is practical. Let us not content ourselves with garnishing the sepulchers of our fathers; let us also carry on the great work they so nobly began. For great as the

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past is, its greatness chiefly consists, not in its being fruit, but in its being germ. Hence ample room must be allowed for limitless growth. Or, to use the homely but profound words of the great parable-speaker:

"No man putteth new wine into old wine-skins; else the new wine will burst the skins, and itself will be spilled, and the skins will perish. But new wine must be put into fresh wine-skins, and both are preserved."

It is as though the new teacher had said: "My religion is a living, and therefore a growing, thing. You cannot confine it in the strait-jacket of the past. You cannot keep alive my doctrine of offerings in the worn-out skins of the Mosaic tithes; my doctrine of the Sabbath within the rabbinic tether of fifteen furlongs; my doctrine of worship within the shambles of sacrificial animals; my doctrine of righteousness in the iron groove of ritual; my doctrine of atonement in an acacia ark of two cubits and a half. The old covenant has had its uses. It was an excellent religion for your fathers when they came up out of Egypt and the wilderness, inexperienced as children. And the ancient ritual was a good enough skin for the wine of Mosaism. But the Jewish nation has been sipping for centuries at that wine till it is all gone; and now nothing is left but an empty, shriveled bottle of goat-skin. I have come with a new religion, or rather a new application of the old—an application so fresh and living that, like the fermenting principle in wine, it is capable of indefinite expansion. You may, if you choose, pour it into the old skin of Judaism; but if you do it will burst the skin and run out, and the only result will be that you will have neither the skin of the letter nor the wine of the spirit. No; Moses' religion of ordinance and my religion of character are, in this matter of growth, incompatible, and mutually destroy each other. You are wishing to be a follower of Moses and at the same time a follower of me. It is impossible; the only result will be that you will cease to be a good Jew, and will never begin to be a good Christian. The only thing to be done is this—put the new wine into a fresh skin." And the lesson, in its essential meaning, is as weighty for us as it was for the Nazarene's contemporaries. There is still such a thing as life, and life means growth. Let me make some applications of this principle.

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First, let me apply it to national life. For a nation is a living thing, all its component men constituting one great national man. Being thus a living person, a nation, like any other person, passes through all stages of growth—infancy, youth, manhood. Ever growing in volume, it must necessarily outgrow, successively, the draperies suited to the various stages of life. And a nation's constitution, whether unwritten, like the English, or written, like ours—what is it but a nation's drapery, vesturing the body politic? As the nation grows, then, so let its constitution grow. Not that we are to be forever tinkering it in a mechanical way; but let it take on naturally the nation's growing size. It may well be made of iron; but let it have the malleability of wrought iron, not the inflexibility of cast iron; otherwise it may suddenly snap. What a terrific illustration of this in our own day! Our nation, in growing, outgrew the barbaric institution of slavery; but the nation declined to be wise, refusing to adjust the Constitution to the growing doctrine of human brotherhood. What was the result? A million of graves and a billion of debts. The skin burst, and nothing less than God's providence saved the wine. But another gigantic peril confronts us; it is the question of labor and capital. Nothing but the most consummate statesmanship, and this only under God's benison, can save the ship of state as she sails along this stupendous reef. And how shall it save us? By

> "Large discourse,
> Looking before and after";

with the one hand clinging to past and approved foundations, with the other seizing and incorporating new materials. Let the nation, then, be wise, and, discerning the signs of the times, adjust legislation to growth; in such matters, for instance, as monopoly, reciprocity, civil-service reform, counting a quorum, temperance, education, arbitration, and disarmament. Otherwise appalling revolutions await us. Lord Macaulay said, in his speech in behalf of parliamentary reform, July 5, 1831:

"The great cause of revolutions is this, that while nations move onward, constitutions stand still. The peculiar happiness of England is that here, through many generations, the Constitution has moved onward with the nation. . . . The English have been a great and happy people because

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their history has been the history of a succession of timely reforms. . . . A liberal government makes a conservative people."

Again, let me apply this doctrine of growth to the church, and especially to the matter of creeds—an application which I cannot but think is particularly pertinent. First of all, then, let us keep in mind that our conception of Christianity, if we are real students of it, is evermore a growing thing. While truth as outside of us, as an absolute thing, existing in and by itself, is incapable of change, truth as within us, as a relative thing, more or less apprehensible by us, is capable of change, becoming by that very fact a germ potential of all growth. As a matter of fact, the history of Christianity is way-marked by epochs of Christian advance. Peter was an advance upon John the Baptist, Paul upon Peter, John the Apostle upon Paul, Athanasius upon Polycarp, Augustine upon Athanasius, Wesley upon Augustine. Each enlarged the truth, not by adding, but by unfolding. And so, in this sense, Christianity is ever a growth.

On the other hand, creeds, in virtue of their own nature, tend to be inflexible. They are men's notions of truth crystallized into statements. Accordingly, they have the brittleness of crystals; altering them may shatter them. Moreover, creeds are tiny as compared with truth itself. For any creed, even the truest that man has ever devised, is at best but man's notion of truth; and truth is ever larger than men's notions. Portions or aspects of moral truth, you may define, that is, bound, with tolerable accuracy; but in spite of your best attempts at definition or exact statement, the real truth will be found to lie largely in the margin and outskirts. Hence parables are often truer than histories, hymns than creeds, unspoken sentiments than confessions of faith; and this is so because parables, hymns, and unspoken sentiments have vacillating boundaries, and can adjust themselves to enlarging apprehensions of truth. Once more; a tendency of creeds, in consequence of their inflexibility, is to arrest the growth of the inclosed truth, and even to strangle it. And, on the other hand, the very nature of truth, as a growing force, is to burst its inclosing creed. It is the everlasting duel between prisoner and prison, nut and husk. Shall we undertake, then, to dispense altogether with creeds? Certainly not.

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Creeds, notwithstanding their stifling tendency, are necessary, at least in this world, to the preservation of truth. They serve as receptacles for its custody, vehicles for its propagation. Viewed in this light, the world owes an incalculable debt to such profound systematizers as Athanasius, Augustine, and Calvin. In fact, constructed as we are, we cannot do without forms.

If, then, on the one hand, truth cannot do without creed, and if, on the other hand, truth tends to burst creed, and creed to strangle truth, what are we to do? Simply this: recognize the principle of growth, and adjust creed to it. Let us not, then, stereotype our conceptions of truth. Let us give our conceptions room to grow. For the achievements of one age are but swaddling bands for the next; the husk, which is a home for the seed when it is dormant, is a prison for the seed when it is quickened.

"Our little systems have their day;
They have their day and cease to be;
They are but broken lights of Thee,
And Thou, O Lord, art more than they."

Remember that Christianity is more than a stone, though that stone were a Koh-i-noor. If it were nothing more than a stone, we might be content with setting it in the framework of a creed, and with keeping it locked in our jewel case; unless, indeed, we should take it out for exhibition on Sundays. No, Christianity is more than a stone; it is a seed—a living, unfolding seed, capable of all growth, even that mustard seed of the kingdom which is yet to overshadow time and space. Do not confine it, then, in any iron cylinder, however vast or polished; do not expect it to grow along any inexorable groove. Take care of it, water it, guard it; but do not incarcerate it. For Christianity is as vital and crescent to-day as it was when its founder proclaimed it amid the hills of Palestine. I cannot deny myself the luxury of quoting from a report of the farewell sermon which John Robinson delivered to our pilgrim fathers at Delft Haven two hundred and seventy-one years ago:

"We are now ere long to part asunder, and the Lord knoweth whether ever he should live to see our faces again. But whether the Lord had appointed it or not, he charged us before God and his blessed angels to follow him no further than he followed Christ; and if God should reveal anything

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to us by any other instrument of his, to be as ready to receive it as ever we were to receive any truth by his ministry; for he was very confident the Lord had more truth and light yet to break forth out of his holy word. He took occasion also miserably to bewail the state and condition of the reformed churches, who were come to a period in religion, and would go no further than the instruments of reformation. As, for example, the Lutherans. They could not be drawn to go beyond what Luther saw; for whatever part of God's will he had further revealed to Calvin, they will rather die than embrace it. And so also, saith he, you see the Calvinists. They stick where he left them—a misery much to be lamented. For though they were precious shining lights in their times, yet God had not revealed his whole will to them; and were they now living, saith he, they would be as ready to embrace further light as that they had received. Here also he put us in mind of our church covenant, at least that part of it whereby we covenant with God and one with another, to receive whatsoever light or truth shall be made known to us from his written word; but withal exhorted us to take heed what we received for truth, and well to weigh it with other scriptures before we received it. For, saith he, it is not possible the Christian world should come so lately out of such thick anti-Christian darkness, and that full perfection of knowledge should break forth at once." *

These golden words are more gloriously true to-day than ever. Be it for us to listen to what the Spirit is still saying to the churches. Let us not take it for granted that everything is settled. If we are really pupils in the school of the Master, we shall never cease learning from him. Here is the real secret of humanity's progress. Advance as it will, it can never touch the horizon; ascend as it will, it can never touch the zenith. This ever-receding horizon is the world's beckoner forward; this ever-ascending zenith is the world's beckoner upward. While, then, we must look backward for counsel, we must look forward for mainspring. The achievements of the past and the possibilities of the future—these are the world's majestic inspirations. But while the past is a heritage, it becomes available to us only as we convert it, so to speak, into a promissory note, and invest it for compound accumulation in the ever-multiplying ventures of the future. Accordingly, the leading thinkers in the various sects could pursue no wiser policy than to gather together occasionally, to compare discoveries and to adjust symbols thereto. As the growing vine of truth keeps yielding perennially new wine, let us take care to put it into fresh skins. If we put it

* "The Works of John Robinson," vol. I., Memoir, pp. 44, 45.

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into the old, the ever-growing truth will sooner or later burst the skins, and the wine will be lost. The consequence will be either merciless bigotry or ribald infidelity. But by adjusting creed to truth, form to life, skin to wine, both will be preserved; we shall be progressive conservatives and conservative progressives.

Yet, at this very point, let us learn a lesson of tenderness from our Master; for in his parable of the skins he immediately adds: "And no one having drunk old wine desireth new; for he saith, The old is good." The allusion, of course, is to his countrymen who were still clinging to the institutions of Moses. It is a fine instance of the Master's beautiful gentleness. It is as though he had said: "Yes, I have come with a new and better form of religion. Yet I do not wonder that you prefer the old form; it was the religion of your fathers; it is hard to give up inherited convictions, to tear one's self away from the old homestead. No one, having drunk old wine, straightway desires new; for he says, The old is good enough." Be it for us to follow our exemplar. Let us be considerate in our freedom, gentle in our reforms. Let us fraternally propose whatever we deem are improvements, but let us be patient with those who cannot readily fall into line with the proposed advance. Time and grace work wonders.

Conservatism and progressiveness illustrate moral statics and dynamics; these being the opposing, yet equipoising, forces of physical and spiritual mechanics alike. The centrifugal force of the past, tending to move on in the straight line of precedent, and the centripetal force of the future, tending toward time's gravitating center, are in the way of resultant a curvilinear force, rolling humanity in the everlasting orbit of duty around the sun of righteousness. The secret of life is the equilibrium of diastole and systole; the secret of locomotion is the counterplay of opponent muscles. How exquisite the laureate's insight into nature and humanity when he sings of the "grooves of change":

"Not in vain the distance beckons; forward, forward let us range;
Let the great world spin forever down the ringing grooves of change."

Heaven help America to conserve progress, alike retaining the past and mastering the future! So shall be fulfilled the Master's saying, "The sower and the reaper shall rejoice together."

GEORGE DANA BOARDMAN.

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THE COMING BILLIONAIRE.

In the Forum for November, 1889, the question was asked, "Who own the United States?" and reasons were given for the belief that one half of all the national wealth is owned by 40,000 families and that three fourths of it is in the possession of fewer than 250,000 families. These estimates were based in part upon official tax returns, but in part, also, upon private information as to the wealth of seventy estates, specifically named, each estimated to be worth more than $20,000,000, and averaging $37,500,000. The correctness of these statistics, as well as that of the inferences drawn from them, has been somewhat bitterly denied. Hostile critics have assumed that the estimates of individual wealth were based entirely upon newspaper reports; and many newspaper editors, acting presumably upon their own experience, have unhesitatingly declared that such statistics are necessarily worthless.

But not one tenth of these names were given upon the authority of newspaper estimates, while a large majority were given upon very trustworthy private information. It has been said that no one can tell what a man's wealth amounts to without access to his books, which, it has been assumed, is impossible. In several instances, however, the information came from persons who had access to the necessary books or had been permitted to inspect the securities; in some cases it was obtained from tax returns; and in other cases it was taken from the oral or written statements of the owners themselves. For example, one gentleman, whose wealth was set down at $100,000,000, had actually exhibited $75,000,000 in securities, and had testified in a court of law to the possession of $10,000,000 more of one kind, all unencumbered. During the year which has now elapsed, not one tenth of these names have been specified by any one as erroneously entered upon the list or as seriously overrated, and in only three instances has any probable error been established.

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These names might be omitted, and their places might be supplied by others of the twenty-million grade. Errors of understatement have been discovered which largely counterbalance all overstatements. The least that can be said is that there are seventy American estates that average $35,000,000 each, not including Trinity Church, which perhaps should not be classed with strictly individual owners. During the year, by the consolidation of two estates, one individual has become worth at least $200,000,000. Two brothers, whose property is held as a unit, together own even a larger amount than this. Some great estates have been divided up by inheritance, but others have been still more concentrated by that means.

The evolution of such enormous fortunes, absolutely inconceivable forty years ago as an American possibility, naturally leads us to look into the future, and to ask how far this concentration of wealth may go, and whether the existing hundred-millionaires foreshadow the coming billionaire. Is he coming? When will he come? What effect will his coming have upon society? Unless some great change takes place in our financial or social system, the billionaire is certainly coming, and at a rapid pace. True, a vast fortune does not multiply by mere interest, if kept at home, quite so rapidly as one of more moderate size, on account of the difficulty of reinvesting such enormous incomes at full rates of interest. But it is also true that in other respects large fortunes tend to increase much more rapidly than very small ones. Opportunities for large profits on special transactions are presented to millionaires far more often than to others. They are more likely to gain by "the unearned increment." They can afford to pay for the very best service, and they can and do secure agents of great ability and integrity. Such agents can as easily make safe investments in the West at eight per cent. as in the East at five per cent. Small capitalists must keep their money at home, because they cannot watch over distant investments or afford to employ local agents. These advantages more than compensate for the lower rate of interest which large capitalists often have to accept on home investments in consequence of their rapid accumulations.

Thus we see that, in the last twenty years, while rates of in-

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terest have been constantly declining in America, vast fortunes have increased more rapidly than ever before. Several non-speculative estates have increased fivefold in less than forty years. Interest is now very low; but, adding to interest the steady increment of city lands, an addition of at least four per cent. per annum, at compound interest, may be counted upon for these great estates. At that rate, a present fortune of $200,000,000 would become a billion ($1,000,000,000) in less than forty years. Financial conditions remaining unchanged, the American billionaire might reasonably be looked for within that time and several billionaires might be expected within sixty years.

What would be the effect upon our social order of the advent of the billionaire? Lurid pictures of his tyranny and cruelty have sometimes been drawn, but these have no basis in fact or in common sense. The possession of such vast wealth brings a large degree of caution, and even of timidity, to its owner. At the present time, nineteen twentieths of those who are worth more than ten millions keep out of active public life, and three fourths of them are anxious to avoid even the suspicion of political influence. The influence of men worth from $500,000 to $5,000,000 is actively and sometimes ostentatiously exerted, and, gradually but slowly, larger fortunes are coming to the front. But it is not likely that many of the very largest will ever venture far into active politics. Only two exceptions have presented themselves up to this time.

The existence of such enormous fortunes necessarily implies the existence of a far greater number of fortunes much less in amount, but still vastly in excess of any individual wealth now known. When there is even one billionaire, there will be several half-billionaires and many hundred-millionaires. The fact will be an indication of a tremendous concentration of wealth, and of the dwindling proportion of wealth held by the farmers and wage-earners of this country. The billionaire will bring an army of paupers in his train. Possibly the actual average wealth of farmers and mechanics then may be a little greater than it is now. Optimists of that day may assure them that they are richer, by ten dollars each, than their ancestors were; and therefore that all is for the best in this best of all possible worlds.

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But the discontent of the masses, under a system which gives to one man a larger amount of wealth than can ever be attained by a million of his fellow citizens who are fully his equals in skill and merit and far his superiors in industry, is certain to be great and ever increasing. Indeed, universal experience demonstrates that discontent among the masses is far greater when the weight of oppression is somewhat diminished than it was before.

The effect of such concentration of wealth upon public and private morals may well be anticipated with concern. Already the wealthy classes are hard pressed by the temptations of idleness, "the parent of all mischief." Gambling has increased enormously, especially around New York; and a limited license for it, previously bought from local officials, has now been purchased from the Legislature. Inevitably, with the growth of an idle and luxurious class, a bad example is set by them, which will corrupt multitudes less favored by fortune. The influence of such a class is everywhere and always demoralizing. It will be especially injurious in our own country, because there are no such outlets for the activity of wealth as there are in older countries. While the billionaire himself will probably shrink from direct interference in politics, the many millionaires who will come into existence, by force of the same laws, will be likely to use their money quite as unscrupulously as the few millionaires do now. The Australasian ballot is a step, but only one step, toward the exclusion of money from control over elections. Years will pass before the next step will be taken in earnest. Meantime, a few men of large wealth control each of the great parties; and they would control any third party, if it should gain strength enough to become a serious rival in the field.

The writer is not, however, greatly interested in completing this picture of a possible future; because, although the evils which would ensue from such an unequal distribution of wealth are even more serious than any here suggested, and might possibly include the destruction of republican government—which is even now little better than a form among us—a tide is rising that promises to sweep away the system which alone makes possible such unnatural and corrupting accumulations. The billionaire may never come. Rapidly as he now seems to

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be coming, the very speed with which he visibly approaches may prevent him from reaching us. For the billionaire, if he ever come, will not be the result of any inevitable natural law. He will be simply the product of indirect taxation. Maintain that system, and he will surely come, and that right speedily; abolish it, and he can never come at all.

No elaborate calculations are necessary to make this plain, although the correctness of the assertion has been tested by such calculations over and over again. Every indirect tax distributes itself among the people in proportion to the cost of their support; in other words, it taxes them upon what they spend, not upon what they have. The vast majority of any community must always have incomes so small that they cannot help spending three fourths of what they receive. But the small minority of large property-owners do not need to spend one eighth of their incomes, and as a rule they do not spend one half. Looking at the subject with reference to accumulated wealth, the man who is worth $1,000 usually spends at least $500 a year on the support of his family, while the man who is worth $1,000,000 rarely spends $50,000. Indirect taxation, therefore, obviously bears at least ten times as heavily upon the former as upon the latter. Under absolutely direct taxation, no poor man would ever pay a larger share than a rich man, and, indeed, most of the working classes would pay no taxes at all; because the collection of direct taxes from them would be too laborious and expensive to be maintained. In many instances, rich men now pay only a hundredth part of the federal taxes which they would have to pay if they should be assessed at the same proportional rate as the mass of day laborers. Upon the average, however, indirect taxation may be fairly stated to bear at least ten times as heavily upon the poor as upon the rich.

Local taxation is generally supposed to be direct, and to a limited extent it really is so. Taxes upon banks, mortgages, merchandise, and houses, however, are indirect, and are paid, in proportion to his expenses, by the final real tax-payer. The whole taxes, national and local, are now $800,000,000, of which at least $650,000,000 are indirect. To these must be added the interest, commissions, and profits charged by the first payers of these

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taxes upon the increased prices of the taxed articles, and the increase of prices upon articles of home production caused by a tariff. These items together can never be less than $400,000,000 per annum, and they often exceed $600,000,000. During some periods, such as the years 1864, 1872, and from 1879 to 1882, they must have been more than $800,000,000. Nine tenths of these annual levies are paid by the poorer classes, and the whole is absorbed by a very few of the very rich. Thus the poor are constantly impoverished, while all the wealthy are more or less exempted, and some of them are positively enriched. To say the least, the whole cost of government, national and local, falls upon those who live by the labor of their hands. Large capitalists and landlords, considered as an entire class, pay absolutely nothing; on the contrary, they make a net profit out of taxation. Whatever is taken from some capitalists by taxation, is more than counterbalanced, as to the whole class, by what is paid to others. The owners of land and large capital, therefore, considered as a class, retain their entire savings free from all taxation. But the working class is deprived of three fourths of its savings, if not more, by taxes to the state and by bounties to capitalists. How could it be possible, under such a system, that the rich should fail to become rapidly richer, or that the poor should not remain almost stationary? The marvel is that the poor should have saved anything at all.

Many who can readily see that this system is unjust to the masses, may nevertheless fail to see that its effects are sufficient to account for any large part of the present excessive concentration of wealth. Some illustration in figures is therefore necessary. Suppose that the actual necessities of taxation are $750,000,000 per annum, and that the corresponding burden imposed by the present system of indirect taxation is about 15 per cent. of all personal expenses. Suppose also that, after making due allowance for the dead loss involved in the protective system, at least one third goes to the wealthier classes, instead of to public uses. All of these estimates are moderate. The estimates of wealth and population given in the FORUM for November, 1889, were as follows:

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Class.	Families.	Wealth.
Rich,	182,000	$43,367,000,000
Middle,	1,200,000	7,500,000,000
Working,	11,620,000	11,215,000,000
Totals,	13,002,000	$62,082,000,000

The total production of the United States for 1890, estimated by the same rules as in 1880, cannot greatly exceed $13,000,000,000 in value. Of this, four per cent. must be allowed for repairs and replacement. The net income is divided in proportions not less favorable to the richer classes than the following:

Families.	Average Income.	Total Income.
180,000	$25,000	$4,500,000,000
1,200,000	1,250	1,500,000,000
11,620,000	560	6,500,000,000
Totals, 13,000,000	$960	$12,500,000,000

If taxation is not taken into account, the 180,000 rich can accumulate, on an average, two thirds of their income. The rest of the people cannot well save one fifth of theirs. A tax burden of 15 per cent. on expenses would therefore take $225,000,000 from the rich and $960,000,000 from the other classes. One third of the whole amount thus paid by both rich and poor goes, not to the government, but to a small section of the richest class. This would restore to that class, as a class, about $400,000,000. The result would be as follows:

ANNUAL SAVINGS OF THE RICH.

Natural savings,		$3,000,000,000
Deduct taxes, etc.,	$225,000,000	
Add profits from tax system,	400,000,000	175,000,000
Total,		$3,175,000,000

ANNUAL SAVINGS OF OTHER CLASSES.

Natural savings,	$1,600,000,000
Deduct taxes, etc.,	960,000,000
Net,	$640,000,000

It will be seen that the interference of indirect taxation alone causes the richest class to gain upon the other classes at the rate of much more than $1,000,000,000 per annum. This sum, with

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compound interest at five per cent., is enough, in thirty years, to increase the balance of wealth on the side of the few to an amount equal to the whole present national wealth of $60,000,000,000.

Let us now suppose any effective system of strictly direct taxation, according to wealth, to be substituted. Roughly speaking, this would require a tax of one and one fifth per cent. on all property at its full value. Under this, taxes would be divided as follows:

180,000 rich would pay,	$520,000,000
12,820,000 others would pay,	225,000,000

Thus the effect of exclusively direct taxation, even when strictly enforced against rich and poor alike, would be to decrease the gap between them by nearly $300,000,000 per annum. The substitution of direct for indirect taxation would, of itself, be worth to the middle and working classes, as a whole, about $750,000,000 a year, forever. And yet this is far from stating the entire benefit which such a change would confer upon them.

Take an individual case. The owner of $10,000,000 need not pay more than $15,000 in indirect taxes, while living in princely style. If he is a protected owner of mines or factories, he often makes a profit of $100,000 a year out of indirect taxation. Under direct taxation he would have to pay $120,000, and would make no profit from taxation. Allowing compound interest at five per cent., the difference between direct and indirect taxation is of itself worth, even to an unprotected capitalist of this magnitude, within about thirty-five years, an amount equal to the whole of his original wealth. Of course there is now some direct taxation under local government, and therefore some deduction must be made from these estimates. Possibly one eighth of the whole taxation is direct, and to that extent the foregoing estimates should be reduced. The difference is not important, with reference to the main question. It relates only to the amount, not to the principle.

If this system continue, the coming of the billionaire on the one hand, and of a million paupers on the other, is, of course, inevitable. But will it continue? All organized political parties are apparently committed to it, either in a mild form or in an

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aggravated one. The Republican Party has pledged itself to an "uncompromising" adherence to taxation of the poor for the benefit of the rich; in the belief, undoubtedly sincere, that the rich will take care of the poor. The Democratic Party has declared that a system of taxation which confessedly takes ten times as much from poverty as from wealth, has always constituted the main source of national revenue, and that "such it must continue to be." The Mills bill lifted only a cheese paring from the load of the poor, and the three McKinley bills of the last session have added one third to the burden. Surely the billionaire is at hand! Not quite so surely. The half-billionaire will come, no doubt; but the very recklessness of the victors of 1888 has insured the speedy ruin of their cause. They boast that their taxes are secure for ten years. If their hopes in this respect could be fulfilled, the reaction would be so great as to destroy the entire system directly afterward. But even if, unfortunately, some halting, half-way reform should be carried at a too early day, the mine has been laid under the whole system by the tax-eating class itself.

It has long been the favorite aim of the protectionist leaders to make a moderate tariff impossible. For this purpose they abolished the duties on tea and coffee in 1871; and for many years they have struggled to abolish the internal revenue taxes, so as to leave the tariff the only source of federal revenue. In later years their counsels have been divided. Mr. Kelley and Mr. Randall, the foremost champions of protection in their respective parties, devoted all their energies to the repeal of taxes on whisky and tobacco. But gradually it became clear to other protectionists, of equal vigor, that a repeal of the sugar duties would answer substantially the same purpose. With the simultaneous disappearance from Congress of Mr. Kelley and Mr. Randall, the protectionist leadership fell entirely into the hands of men who preferred free sugar to free whisky; and in April, 1891, those duties will come to an end.

The new protectionist leaders have gained their immediate object. The managers of the Democratic Party seem hardly yet to appreciate the situation. They still talk about a tariff for revenue, in opposition to one for protection, as if it could be a live

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issue in the future. But if indirect taxation is to be maintained, a tariff for revenue only, supplemented by the usual internal revenue taxes on whisky and tobacco, must be sufficient to supply the needs of the federal government. The fatal defect in the present Democratic program of moderate tariff reform, is that no tariff can be devised which will suffice for the needs of the government without including a tax upon sugar. But the sugar tax has gone forever. After the people shall have enjoyed free sugar for two years, any party which should attempt to restore the enormous sugar tax of the past would be crushed at the first election. No party will attempt it.

The protectionists have gained upon this one point a signal and permanent victory. The long struggle of the Democratic Party to maintain a system of indirect taxation sufficient to support the government without levying tribute upon the people for the benefit of a few monopolists, has been finally defeated. The issue of a tariff for revenue only, as against a tariff for protection, is practically dead. Yet have the protectionists any reason to rejoice in their victory? Wellington once said that a victory was little better than a defeat. But there are some victories which are even worse than defeats, because they are purchased at the cost of ultimate and total ruin. The victory which the protectionists have won belongs to this class. While they have made it impossible for this country ever to have a tariff for revenue only, adequate to the support of the national government, they have done so at the cost of raising an issue far more dangerous to them than any one that ever before entered into practical politics. The abolition of the sugar tax is a deadly blow to the whole tariff system.

The surplus has gone. In its place appears an annual deficiency of $50,000,000. Col. Frederick Grant has vindicated his prophetic character. Mr. Blaine admiringly quoted his aphorism, "It is easier to handle a surplus than a deficit"; and Mr. Blaine's party has shown a capacity for transforming a surplus into a deficit fully equal to that of the renowned firm of Grant and Ward. The national expenditures have been permanently increased by extravagant pensions, which are more likely to be increased than to be diminished. Within a very short time new taxes

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must be imposed. Nothing more can be got out of the tariff, either for revenue or for protection; any increase of protective duties would simply reduce the public revenue. Nothing more can be got out of whisky, for any increase of the tax would only lessen its returns. The dominant party is pledged against the tobacco tax, and the South longs to be rid of it.

The deficiency which has now come, and which will rapidly increase, cannot be supplied by any tariffs or excises whatever. It must be filled up by direct taxation. And when direct taxes are once introduced on a large scale and in a popular form, they will gradually swallow up all others. The repeal of the sugar duties, moreover, has given a tremendous impetus to the reciprocity movement; and this is certain to be ultimately fatal to all protection. It is true that its advocates at present carefully limit their propositions to the American continent. But the new States to which, by an astonishing fatuity, New England has given control of the Senate, have no interest in protection, except against American nations; and free trade with Canada, Mexico, and South America, including free barley, vegetables, wool, and lead, will make preposterous even the pretense of protection to northern farmers and to western miners. Moreover, reciprocity will not stop with this continent. If it be found profitable here, the dullest minds will begin to suspect that it may be equally profitable if extended to Europe. Already the American hog has made offers of peace and amity to French art. It may be granted that European reciprocity treaties have not weakened protectionism, but have probably strengthened it. But that is because all those treaties have provided for mere reductions of duties, never for absolute freedom of trade. The reciprocity now advocated by Mr. Blaine, Mr. Sherman, and Mr. Butterworth, and enthusiastically indorsed by the whole Northwest, is radically different. It is practically absolute free trade within certain boundary lines.

In the reaction which has already begun, but which will be all the more sweeping the longer it is delayed, all taxes imposed upon the poor for the direct benefit of the rich will be swept away. The duty on raw wool is known to be doomed, and the rich wool-growers correctly predict that the duties on woolen

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goods will vanish almost as speedily as those on wool. How long will pig-iron taxes throttle New England after wool and woolens are free? How long can any protective duties stand after the keystones of the arch have been knocked out? The protective features of the tariff will soon be destroyed. But before that time shall arrive, direct taxation will have been resorted to as a partial source of government revenue; and the masses, finding themselves exempted from it, will insist upon its extension, and eventually upon its substitution for all other taxes. Nor will there be any powerful concentrated interest to resist this demand, after the protective system has been destroyed. Nobody will purchase votes in favor of a tariff for revenue only.

Direct taxation, on a large scale, is near at hand. The men who bought and paid for the present Congress can now choose what its form shall be. They can have a general income tax, or they can have something less open to fraud, less inquisitorial in its nature, less oppressive upon honest men, and offering no premium to perjury. But they know nothing about the science of taxation, and they do not care to learn; so that the whole matter will be left over to the new Congress, and a general income tax, objectionable as it is, seems most likely to be adopted. It has already been proposed by Senator Plumb and Mr. Mills. It is one of the demands of farmers' alliances everywhere. It will be very popular in the West, because it will be collected chiefly in the East; and it will be popular among farmers in all sections, because incomes under $1,000 will be exempted, and so scarcely any farmers will pay it. The protected manufacturers and mine-owners may have a harvest for four years, but it will be not so rich as they have imagined, because consumption will fall off. After that time the men of wealth, who bought the soldier vote by the promise of enormous pensions, which they expected to saddle upon the poor, will have the great pleasure of paying most of the pension bill themselves, through an income tax.

The billionaire seems to be coming; yet he will not come, because the reign of the extortioner is fast drawing to a close.

THOMAS G. SHEARMAN.

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DOES THE NEGRO SEEK SOCIAL EQUALITY?

THE question thus proposed is comparatively new in the discussion of what is familiarly known as the "Negro problem." In fact, the matter of social equality does not belong to the realm of the problematic. Passports to this arena are not usually written in hieroglyphics. Social equality is self-regulating; it is not subject to the laws of church or state. It is rather a creature of what are termed the "usages of society"; and society, at different periods of human history and in various parts of the world, has had different standards. The same condition that would make a man a social hero in one part of the world would be of no advantage to him in another. The passports to the best society in England, for instance, are different in many respects from those that are requisite in the United States. The leaders of society in one land may be classed with social pariahs in another, and all these different standards of social equality have always been free from the control of the civil law.

Men have understood, from time immemorial, that the province of social equality and that of civil rights are separate and distinct. A discussion as to the co-ordinate power of civil laws and social usages is indeed a new thing under the sun. The terms "civil privilege" and "social courtesy" have never been used synonymously, or in such a way as to make one to include the other, until very recently. History, so far as I know, furnishes no illustration of the truth of the statement that to grant a man his civil rights is to make him necessarily a social equal and companion. But such is the latest assertion in the discussion of the race problem. People argue that the friends of the Negro, and that the Negroes themselves, in seeking constitutional rights, are at the same time demanding social equality. I have but one motive in consenting to answer the question, "Does the Negro seek social equality?" It is that, through the permission given me, I may say unequivocally, "No," and thus free the

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Negro from the imputation—an insult to his growing intelligence—that he is endeavoring to reverse all history by demanding social equality through legislative enactment and constitutional law. This same charge, implied in the question, is brought against the friends of the Negro who are disposed to grant him the exercise of the rights and immunities that have already been vouchsafed to him as a citizen. But what are some of the statements of the opposition on this issue? Is the position taken by them tenable and logical? Is not the social-equality attitude far-fetched, misleading, and irrelevant to the main points, in the discussion of the race question?

So eminent an authority and so representative a man as Senator Morgan, of Alabama, in a recent discussion of the race question, seems to maintain that to concede to the Negro his civil and political rights is to grant him social equality. He says:

"After the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment of the Constitution, it was, in the opinion of the abolitionists, necessary to amend it further, so as to provide against the effect of 'race, color, and previous condition of servitude,' upon the capacity of the Negro race to rise to social and political equality with the white race in this country."

Discussing further the amendments that had in view the enfrachisement of the Negro, and commenting on the attitude of the friends of these measures, Senator Morgan says:

"It was expected that the citizenship conferred upon the Negroes by these amendments, and the peculiar protection guaranteed to their political powers, would carry with them, as a necessary incident, an equality of social privileges with the white race."

The Senator here takes the position that the advocates of Negro enfranchisement had, as the mainspring of their action, a desire for the social equality of the Negroes with the whites. Such a position is hardly defensible. In the very paragraph in which the distinguished senator gives reasons why this social idea did not come to the surface in the debates on the amendments, may also be found reasons why such a sentiment could not have caused any one to advocate those measures. Note what he says:

"It was impossible to express this incidental class of privileges in the body of these amendments, because it would have been impossible to define them, or to enjoin their enforcement in the courts, or to compel obedience to their commands in the social relations and conduct of the people."

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These very words are as good a reply as any "abolitionist" could give to the charge that in advocating a civil right he meant to demand a social privilege. Such an assumption is far-fetched and unwarranted. Citizenship was a natural sequence, near or remote, to emancipation. But no evidence exists that northern men, in demanding justice for the Negro, asked that he should be made a social equal by judicial fiat.

Happily all southern men do not agree with Senator Morgan that the Negro's friends, who plead for his education, for justice to him, and for a greater exhibition of humane sentiment toward him, are thereby seeking to compel the social equality of the races. Bishop Haygood, of Georgia, certainly has the respect and confidence of the North. He is the agent for the John F. Slater fund—a million dollars given for the education of the Negroes—and his devotion to southern interests is the pride and boast of the South. In "Pleas for Progress," * commenting on what he calls "a needless scare," Dr. Haygood says:

> "With some, there is opposition to the education of the Negro from a vague fear of something that is called 'social equality.' . . . There never was in this world, in any nation or community, such a thing as social equality, and there never will be. The social spheres arrange themselves to suit themselves, and no laws promulgated by state or church will change the social affinities and natural selections of men. Men choose the circles for which they have affinity, seek the companionship they prefer, and find the places that are suited to them."

Let us take another southern witness against this social bugbear. In "The Freedman's Case in Equity" Mr. George W. Cable makes a most able, convincing, and unanswerable plea for the civil rights of the Negro. But does he mean to legislate the Negroes into social equality with the whites, or the whites into social equality with the blacks? Not at all. Taking as a topic "Civil Rights not Social Choice," † Mr. Cable says:

> "Let us then make the right and the wrong of this matter unmistakable. 'Social relations,' one will say, 'are sacred.' True, but civil rights are sacred also. Hence social relations must not impose upon civil rights nor civil rights impose on social relations. . . . Having made it plain that the question has nothing to do with social relations, we see that it is, and is only, a question of indiscriminative civil rights."

* Page 17.

† "The Silent South," pp. 59, 62.

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I have thus far simply tried to show that, even among the friends of Negro elevation, and among the advocates of the freedman's case in equity, there is no intimation of social equality, but positive and unmistakable opposition to confusing it with civil rights. These southern friends of the Negro, representing the best culture and patriotism of the land, recognize the fact that one is a question of law, and that the other is a matter of choice.

Does the Negro himself seek social equality? Senator Morgan says he does. He writes:

> "At whatever line their leaders may intend to fix the limits of intrusion, the Negroes have intended that the invasion shall not cease until the races become homogeneous through complete admixture. . . . The practical phase of the question is whether the white race can be made to include the Negro race in a free and honest welcome into their families as men and brethren."

Notwithstanding these statements of the senator from Alabama, I do not consider myself mistaken or presumptuous, since I have some identity with the race, when I say that the Negro has no idea that in demanding his political and civil rights he is seeking an arbitrary social equality with any other race. And I venture the assertion that this is the sentiment of ninety-nine hundredths of the Negroes of this country. Social equality is in the brain of the alarmist rather than in the mind of the Negro.

Senator Morgan says that "the Negroes have intended that the invasion shall not cease until the races have become homogeneous through complete admixture," but he does not give us his authority. It is surprisingly strange that the people who ought to know the Negro most, know him least in so many particulars, or misrepresent him to such an unpardonable degree. From the earliest days of his freedom up to the present, the Negro has had no disposition to force a social alliance with the whites. To his credit be it said that he knew, from what some call "racial instinct," if not from common sense, that such an intercourse could not be forced, but was rather a matter of choice. This attitude of the Negro was clearly manifested during the most disorganized period of southern society. None are more eloquent and pathetic than southern orators, when they refer, in terms of the highest praise, to the fidelity and magnanimity shown by the Negroes to-

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ward the wives and daughters of the Confederates during the civil war. To say now, when the race is more completely regulated by the forces of culture, moral refinement, and intelligence, that to grant colored men their political and civil rights is to force "the Negro race into the white family circle," is unstatesmanlike and erroneous. The position that political and civil equality carries with it such a consequence is contrary to the experience of all men, and especially to that of southern men.

Prior to the war a poor white man was as much a social pariah as a free colored man. The aristocracy took no notice of him as a social equal. This kind of ostracism was so universal and so cruel, that a common saying among Negro slaves who had fairly humane masters was—as expressed by Mr. Fortune in his "Black and White"—"I'd rudder be a niggah den a po' wite man." Since the war there has been but little, if any, diminution of this feeling toward what is known as the "poor white trash." This class of white men have all their civil and political rights, but no one asserts that they are trying to force themselves into social equality with the dominant classes of the South. If these men, clothed with the full panoply of American citizenship, having their claims to social preferment intensified by membership in the Anglo-Saxon family, cannot compel social recognition, it is preposterous to say that a so-called alien race is forcing itself socially upon the so-called superior race; such a position implies too great a compliment to the Negro.

But, really, as we consider the facts in the case, who does seek what looks like social contact? If we glance at the colored people assembled in church, school, or hall, and observe the large percentage of white blood, we shall discover *prima facie* evidence, in a double sense, that some one other than the Negro has been the seeker. If this is true, why is the Negro accused of seeking social equality whenever he demands the exercise of his civil and political rights? Simply because some men, either out of gross ignorance or from a very malicious spirit, confound law with choice and right with preference. If a Negro lays claim to what the law of the land guarantees to him, is he seeking social equality? No; he asks only that which is his already, and which he ought not to be compelled to seek. When a person

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of Negro descent enters a first-class car or restaurant, or seeks a decent stateroom on a steamer, he does not do it out of a desire to be with white people. He is seeking simply comfort, and not the companionship, or even the presence, of whites. Frequently his course is an effort to escape from the unpleasant odor of tobacco, or from the more undesirable presence of foul men and vile women. When a train stops for refreshments, and the Negro enters a dining room, he does not go there because he is seeking social contact with the whites, but because he is hungry. Notice the inconsistency involved in this matter. A train stops twenty minutes for dinner. A Negro nurse walks into the dining room and no one says a word to her. A well-dressed, intelligent colored woman, with a famishing child, is refused accommodation, on the assumption that she is seeking social equality. This same inconsistency is manifested on cars, on steamboats, and in other places of public accommodation.

The Negro does not seek among other races what he does not have in his own. There is no social equality among Negroes, notwithstanding the disposition of some whites to put all Negroes in one class. Culture, moral refinement, and material possessions make a difference among colored people as they do among whites. His civil and political rights are things which the Negro not only seeks, but demands. As for the social-equality question, it will take care of itself in the future as it has in the past. If he is left alone, the Negro will be contented with his own people. He has more of the elements that make up what is called society than one at a glance would suppose. Among his own people the Negro finds fairly intelligent ministers and often learned ones, capable lawyers, skilled physicians, well-trained teachers, versatile and energetic newspaper men, accomplished musicians, men in comfortable and frequently in wealthy circumstances, and women of culture and refinement. These elements are growing in numbers every day; and for this reason, together with others, the Negro does not find the companionship of the whites so necessary as some would argue.

There is, to my mind, a very patent reason why this social bugbear is thus brought into the discussion of the race problem. The same cause brings it into prominence in political campaigns

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in many parts of the South, where it is frequently used as a very effective party whip. Every conceivable thing has been done to array the American people against granting the Negro his constitutional rights; and every struggle in the field of reason has ultimately resulted, with the more thoughtful people, in a triumph for the Negro. The social-equality question is now brought forward because it is considered the most effective stroke of policy for uniting the Anglo-Saxon people of the country against the manhood rights of the Negro. These opponents argue that if they can convince the white people of the land, North and South, that granting the colored man his civil rights means social equality, they will thereby strengthen their case. As a matter of fact, this appeal to the passions and prejudices of the ignorant often succeeds in unifying the forces of the whites, especially of those whites who do not distinguish between a social privilege and a civil right. But such sophistry will not affect the intelligent people of the country. The great mass of Americans are right on these cardinal principles of humanity and justice.

In conclusion, I desire to emphasize the fact that the Negro has common sense enough, not to speak of education, to know that no legislation in either church or state can give him arbitrary admission into the best society, white or colored, and that no congressional enactments can regulate the affections. In all this struggle against the rights of the Negro, he is not found to be an enemy to society. This is evident in the more violent as well as in the milder forms of opposition to him. Then who are the real disturbers of society? Edmund Burke, in "Reflections on the French Revolution," which is considered by many to be the most eloquent and masterly political treatise ever written, says: "Those who attempt by outrage and violence to deprive men of any advantage under the laws, proclaim war against society."

J. C. Price.

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THE MANUFACTURE OF ANCESTORS.

TIME was when the busy American gave little thought to his ancestry. Weighted with the problems of a continent, he looked ever on the future, never on the past. Though too practical to make a jest of his own grandparents, if he happened to remember them, his wit was sharpened for those who made a parade of their pedigrees, and he did not hesitate to draw a ridiculous comparison between the mediæval man of blood, who went around with an iron pot on his head and an iron sword in his hand, and the modern man of money, with a silken instead of an iron beaver and a hand full of dollars. The edict of the French king which forbade the reception at Versailles of any one who could not prove four hundred years of gentility, was to his mind as absurd a piece of lunacy as the pope's bull against the comet; and the conventional notion that it takes three generations to make a gentleman—an idea more strongly put by the old writer on heraldry who said, "God Almighty cannot make a gentleman"—was to him absolutely meaningless. He recognized no such limitation either to birth or to omnipotence.

But the old-fashioned American has passed into history, and the present generation knows him not. The accumulation of wealth has developed among us, with other blessings of an advanced civilization, a leisure class with time to cultivate aristocratic tastes. These tastes have been enhanced by foreign education. Our daughters have brought home, with the gowns of Worth and of Félix, a love for patrician institutions; and our sons, with the creations of Poole and of White, a vast respect for everything English and a corresponding disrespect for the days of simplicity when their fathers could make a sorry jest of aristocratic privilege. Our gilded youth are now alive to the social conventionalisms of all the most favored European capitals. They no longer take *au sérieux* the claim of the English writer

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that only the London-bred man knows how to put on a coat or to wear a monocle, and the American who does not understand the accepted fold of a cravat or the proper crease in trousers is as obsolete as the Garden of Eden.

This advancement from civilization to refinement has brought with it a corresponding change in our notions respecting pedigrees and kindred subjects. Sad experience has taught the American that his father's position in such matters is no longer tenable; for in many instances he has been obliged to expend large sums to purchase position in Europe for his daughters, when a little foresight on the part of his grandfather would have saved him his hard-earned dollars. He has been obliged, too, to yield precedence in European society to persons of little comparative wealth, simply because they have been the possessors of a shield of sixteen quarterings, which, he has discovered, may be purchased at a heraldry office at a price within the reach of every millionaire. These and similar facts have opened the wealthy American's eyes to the necessity of a pedigree, and with characteristic promptness and energy he has set about rectifying the mistake of his ancestor. The once-ridiculed man in armor now occupies the place of honor in his hall. He has painted a crest on his carriage panel, he has set up a coat of arms over his chimney piece, and he has published a genealogy of his family, exhibiting in careful detail the antecedents of his English progenitors, whom he has spared no expense to connect with some noble or historic house. Thus has been brought about, almost imperceptibly, a quasi-revolution among our wealthy class, which bids fair to exercise a very considerable influence on our future; for there is now scarcely a family of any pretension which does not boast its pedigree and escutcheon, and, in many cases, a gallery of ancestral portraits. With these added advantages, our young men will no longer blush, as of old, to meet the sprig of nobility, but will hob-nob with him on equal terms, and, like him, be enabled to relegate tradespeople to their proper sphere, without rendering themselves liable to the imputation of snobbery. Our daughters, too, will be relieved of the stigma, which newspaper moralists have fastened upon them, of trading their money for titles; for hereafter these best representatives of our civilization

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will go to their nuptials fitted with pedigrees as long as, if not longer than, those of the men to whom they carry their wealth.

The increasing demand for pedigrees and for heraldic insignia has led to a new industry in all our great social centers, and there is now scarcely a city which does not boast its college of heraldry, where as trustworthy lines of ancestors and coats of arms can be had as at the older institution in London. The sole difference between them and the one presided over by the Earl Marshal of England is that they are strictly private institutions, our government not having yet seen fit to take them under its protective wing. This, however, is to the advantage of the purchaser, for, with the thoroughness characteristic of individual enterprise, the American colleges never fail to provide unbroken lines of ancestors, while the escutcheons made by them, viewed from the æsthetic standpoint, are far superior to those devised by Garter, Clarencieux, or Norroy. They are fully prepared, too, to connect wealthy families with families in England of assured position and rank, or to make to order an entirely new line of ancestors of the most approved pattern, and to supply suitable arms, including, if wanted, a motto, supporters, and any kind of a coronet. Thus, untrammeled by the mediæval traditions which hedge in the British institution, they are better enabled to cater to the expensive tastes of our aristocracy, while the competition of numbers adds zest to the invention of new symbols and of more costly ornaments for coats of arms.

A seeming anomaly in our protective system is that our government, while imposing an almost prohibitive tariff on every foreign luxury, as well as on most of the necessities of life, should permit absolute free trade in pedigrees and escutcheons, though, contrary to the teachings of the advocates of that system, such freedom has not thus far flooded our markets or cheapened this class of products. This is largely due to the fact that the demand comes almost exclusively from the wealthy class, who under this beneficent system are continually becoming richer, and better able to pay any rate which the genealogists and heralds may impose. There is, too, little competition from the manufacturers of purely American pedigrees. Excepting among a few people in Virginia, who still believe that Powhatan

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was a crowned and sceptered monarch and that Pocahontas was a princess *sans reproche*, an unaccountable prejudice exists in favor of a foreign genealogy. This prejudice finds a strong advocate in Mr. Lowell, who says in one of his essays:

> "Pride of descent takes many odd shapes, none odder than when it hugs itself in an ancestry of filthy barbarians, who daubed themselves for ornament with a mixture of bear's grease and soot or colored clay, and were called emperors by Captain John Smith and his compeers."

While it is a matter of grave doubt whether our woad-stained British ancestors were much higher in the scale of humanity than these red men, the preference for the former cannot be disguised. The patriotic American may regret it, but he will have to accept it as one of the curiosities of our civilization.

The assumption by our wealthy class of the concomitants of a titled aristocracy has, like all innovations, elicited considerable criticism, and in some instances, it cannot be denied, has met with ridicule. A few carping newspaper writers periodically amuse themselves and their bucolic readers, who are never so well pleased as when listening to tales affecting the wealthy or great, by picking flaws in the so-called pretensions of these families and by making public unpleasant facts about their grandparents. These malicious scribblers willfully ignore the fact that all great families were plebeian at some period in their history, and that this period is very much nearer the present than most people think, in the case of some of the grandest of England's houses. We are wont to associate the Dukes of Northumberland with the historic Percys; but the present duke is the descendant of Hugh Smithson, a London apothecary of the last century. The Earl of Warwick is living on the glory of the Kingmaker; yet the present bearer of the title is the descendant, not of Richard Neville, but of William Greville, a worthy woolstapler. The earldom of Essex was founded by a draper, that of Craven by a merchant tailor, and so on one might go indefinitely; but these instances are cited merely to show that our great families are not alone in owing their origin, as the newspaper writers would have us infer, to butchers and bakers and candlestick-makers. Only the envious and the malicious, how-

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ever, parade such unsavory facts between the wind and our nobility. Mr. Freeman says:

"People who talk about old families sometimes forget the obvious fact that one family is really as old as another. Every family had some forefathers at any given moment since the beginning of the world. The only difference is that the old family knows, or thinks that it knows, who its forefathers were at a particular time."

He goes still further, and asserts that many of the old families who think they know who their ancestors were, labor under a mistake as grave as that of Mr. Emerson's "red slayer" who thinks he slays; for, says he, "the pedigrees in Peerages are, as a rule, not only false, but impossible." That is, the bluer the blood the greater the probability that the pedigree has been manufactured. In accordance with the philosophical principle that it is a bad rule that does not work both ways, we are bound, then, to concede the truth of the converse of this, and to believe that the manufactured pedigree is the best proof of ancient lineage.

When we consider that these genealogies spoken of by Mr. Freeman were manufactured in defiance of the law which condemned the manufacturer of a pedigree to the loss of an ear, we shall be the better able to appreciate the difficulties under which one labors in convention-ridden England, and the blessings of our own unlicensed liberty. Here the genealogist and herald, hedged in by no ridiculous limitations, may make pedigrees and escutcheons to suit the taste or the purse of the family consulting them. But, while rejoicing in this, we shall do well to remember that the very freedom of institutions which has rendered possible the privileges we enjoy, has developed a sharp wit which finds its target in the great, the good, and the rich. It behooves us, then, to avoid the errors which have provoked criticism even among duller transatlantic humorists, and to confine our pedigrees within the bounds of moderation and apparent truthfulness. The Spanish grandee who, though only four feet and two inches in height, claimed descent from the giant Geryon, had only his vanity to thank for making himself the subject of lampoonry and jest. The Welsh Mostyns of Mostyn, too, who tabulated their pedigree in an unbroken line from Noah, made themselves as much a subject of derision as the French family of Croy, who exhibited a

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picture representing the ancient navigator, about to enter the Ark, calling to a servitor: "*Sauvez les papiers de la maison de Croy.*" Similarly indiscreet were the Duc de Levis, who hung in his gallery a painting in which the Virgin was depicted graciously saying to his ancestor, who bowed before her, hat in hand, "*Couvrez-vous, mon cousin*"; and the representative of the Colonna family, who introduced into a picture of the Resurrection the most distinguished members of his race rising from their coffins, with the assistance of angels, and claiming the exclusive attention of the first and second Persons of the Trinity.

But the suggestion that the American of average ability could be guilty of such pronounced solecisms will probably be taken as an imputation on the national character; for our professed genealogists have found out that it is far easier to establish a connection with some foreign family of repute, and to appropriate their honors and insignia, than to manufacture outright, like these blue-blooded gentlemen of Croy and Colonna. Thus, our Muggins has been successfully spliced on to the English family of De Mogyn, our Tailor to Tayleure, our Seamer to Seymour and Saint Maur, and our Mullins to Desmoulins. In general these transformations and affiliations have been effected without exciting comment or criticism, but not always. A short time ago a wealthy American family had their attention called to the fact that a trifling change in the orthography of their surname would enable them to make a connection with an ancient knightly race, and to adopt its pedigree and arms. If they had contented themselves with publishing a genealogy in the ordinary way, and with carving the coat of arms on their own tombstones, all might have gone well; but vanity led them to put up in the church where reposed the ashes of the English family what had all the appearance of being an antique brazen tablet in commemoration of their emigrant ancestor. The ordinary visitor would never have noticed any difference between this interloper and the brasses that had become mellowed by time instead of by acids; but the family that had long enjoyed a monopoly of the funereal ornamentation of the church took umbrage at what they considered an invasion of their rights, and were mean enough to discover, and to proclaim the discovery, that the tablet bore on

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its under edge the tell-tale legend, "John Jones fecit, 1879." Thus was snuffed out in ridicule what might have been, but for culpable carelessness, a successful ingraftment.

Another American family, bearing a name famous in English history and exalted in one branch by a ducal title, concluded that similarity of surname gave them an equal right to the heraldic belongings of the family, and assumed the escutcheon, supporters and all. If their pride had been satisfied with the display of the insignia on their carriage panels, no one would have objected; but when it tempted them to assert publicly their right to the ducal title, which was then in abeyance, it aroused the curiosity of some prowling genealogists—those pests of society—who set about inquiries which, they asserted, proved that the American family was only of yeoman origin and of no possible connection with the ducal house. Thus did their vaulting ambition overleap itself, and to avoid ridicule they were obliged to suppress a magnificent table service of china and silver, on which they had displayed, at considerable expense, the ducal crest and coronet.

Notwithstanding these and similar errors of judgment, into which the inexperienced are apt to fall, it is generally safer to appropriate a pedigree and a coat of arms that have stood the test of centuries than to run unnecessary risk in manufacturing new ones. It is by no means safe to regard the science of heraldry, like the elder Mr. Weller, as a "collection of fabulous animals," on which one may draw at pleasure. A lion standing on his head means something very different from a lion rampant, while the color, material, and trimmings are of the utmost consequence. Nothing, too, can be of greater importance than a knowledge of the proper angle of display of the claws or tail of a bird. A bird "in her piety" must not be confounded with one "in her pride," and the herald who does not know how to "langue" or to "ungule" an animal with the proper "tinct" will not escape the censure he deserves. Heraldry, it will thus be seen, is no trifling thing to be played with by everybody with impunity, but is subject to laws as strict as those of the Medes and Persians. Our wealthy families will, then, do well to survey the field carefully before deciding on a coat of arms, and to make

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their choice with an eye to its fitness and its adaptability to their future. The millionaire brewer, for instance, unless he desire to preserve the memory of his calling, will not select a goat rampant as the chief symbol in his shield, or the retired pawnbroker the three "roundles of or" of the Medici. The stock speculator, too, who should adopt either the bull or the bear as his chief charge, or the tobacconist who should choose for his motto the familiar "*Quid rides*," would inevitably invite the criticism of the newspapers, which recognize nothing as sacred.

It is a somewhat remarkable fact in the history of civilization that the Chinese alone have carried the reverence for pedigree to its only legitimate conclusion—they have developed it into a cult. Every Celestial home has its temple or shrine where incense is burned before the ancestral tablets, and where the family meet periodically to worship the long line which connects the members directly with deity, furnishing to every sincere worshiper an extension ladder to heaven, with every round as well defined and as easy of ascent as that which Jacob saw leading into the empyrean. It is probably too much to expect that our discordant sects will ever agree upon so obvious a neutral ground of meeting; but if some of our millionaires would establish a model ancestral shrine where joss sticks and joss money could be burned in the orthodox way, they might make this the fashionable religion, and perhaps refute the accepted notion of the difficulties attending the rich man's attainment to the realms of bliss.

JOHN D. CHAMPLIN, JR.

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REFORM IN RAILWAY CONSTRUCTION.

THIRTY-TWO thousand one hundred and thirty-two people were killed and wounded by the railways of the United States during the year ending June 30, 1889. Of these, 22,000 were employees, of whom 1,972 were killed and 20,028 were wounded. Of passengers and other non-employees, 3,851 were killed and 6,281 were wounded. The average speed of passenger trains, including stops at way stations, was not very far from 25 miles per hour. The average "dead weight" carried for each passenger was between one and two tons.

Magnificent are the achievements of our railway-makers of to-day; marvelous is the cunning of their works; great have been the improvements in traveling, regarding safety, speed, and comfort, especially within the last twenty years; yet the beginning of a radical change in methods and results is probably destined to greet us in the near future. Our existing railways have been, so far, fairly well adapted to their environment. We must remember, however, that one of the chief factors in this environment has been poverty, and that railways could not have existed at all had they demanded enough construction money to make them as perfect as might have been desired by the best engineering talent. This poverty has been most conspicuous in America and in other new countries, where the very progress of civilization has depended upon an extensive railway system. Hence our cheap railways, the best of which did not cost one sixth of the amount that might have been spent upon them had mechanical efficiency been the only object aimed at. The time has well-nigh come for a new line of development. To point out certain mechanical possibilities of construction and operation which will meet the demand of the future traveling public for far greater speed and safety than are at present attained, is the object of this essay.

Before thus trying to look into the future, we may take a

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general view of our present railway system and criticise some of its most glaring faults. To aid in doing this impartially, let us imagine them to be seen by a highly-educated physicist and engineer from another planet. Let us suppose him practically and theoretically conversant with machinery in general, but unacquainted with railways. Let him have the novel experience of standing for the first time beside a railway track, and of seeing that enormous, clanking, clattering mass of iron and wood called an express train thunder by; the very rocks trembling beneath it, and its every joint groaning and quivering as its top-heavy coaches sway and squirm in their mad career. He would probably wonder how it could save itself from instant destruction, especially if he should see it traverse a sharp curve or rattle over the frogs of a turn-out. After a year's general study of the railway systems of the world, we might expect his note book to record their most glaring defects somewhat as follows:

I. Instability of roadbed and bridges; the former being easily crushed down or washed away, and the latter easily swung open, crumbled into scrap iron, or burned to ashes.

II. Track obstructions, such as rocks, landslides, trees, cattle, and tramps, along the line in general; other trains, vehicles, and pedestrians, at grade crossings of intersecting railways and of common roads; and, worse than all, the presence of other trains, or broken parts thereof, running or standing upon the same track, or thrown upon it from a closely adjacent one—in short, liability to collisions of numberless kinds.

III. Weakness and destructibility of track; the rails being easily torn up, spread apart, or broken, by various causes, and the ties being easily displaced, especially upon bridges.

IV. Lack of continuity in the rails, because of switches, crossings, and bad joints.

V. Curves of such short radius that trains must slacken speed for safety, on account of centrifugal force.

VI. Narrowness of gauge and high, top-heavy cars; favoring the upsetting of trains by the wind, by the pushing action of derailed cars, and by other similar causes.

VII. General liability to derailment; nothing but a narrow wheel flange preventing lateral displacement, nothing but gravity

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keeping the wheels from jumping the track, and nothing preventing disaster when they do jump. A notable exception to this fault is found in the "guard timbers" on elevated railways, which provide against any jump but a very high one.

VIII. Insufficiency of brakes; no more friction being attainable than that due to the weight of the train on the rails, even in the extreme case when the wheels almost or quite cease to revolve, and where "skidding" takes place.

IX. Destructibility of rolling stock, due to brittleness, combustibility, and other faults of material, and to weakness of design; as shown in cast-iron wheels, easily-severed connections between trucks and bodies, the liability of cars to be telescoped, and the terrible splintering and burning, due to wooden construction, that often occurs when a car is crushed. The carrying of stoves, or of pipes full of scalding steam, is of course a factor in the mischief.

X. Imperfect guarding of passengers from injury at windows and on platforms.

XI. Swaying, jumping, and pounding of locomotives upon the rails, due to the violent reciprocating motion of the connecting and parallel rods and to the alternate action of the pistons on opposite sides of the machine.

XII. Physical discomfort to passengers, due to bad ventilation, improper temperature, ingress of cinders and dirt, swaying, jarring, vibration, and last, but not least, to noise. Included in the last item are not only rattling, squeaking, and grinding, but the totally needless shrieking of the steam whistle.

XIII. Special danger to employees, in coupling cars, walking over freight trains, and so on.

XIV. The carrying of unnecessary weight—the promoter of danger in collisions and the bane of economy in running on a clear track; the cost of power being proportionate to weight.

Our visitor would probably sum up these faults of our railway system as follows: Danger to life and limb, discomfort to muscles and nerves, great running expense, and comparatively slow speed. Although he would admit the beauty of the statistics which state how many millions of passengers are carried for each one that loses his life, he could but express unbounded as-

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tonishment at the callousness with which we read, every week or so, of some accident where perhaps a dozen trustful passengers are crushed, burned, and otherwise tortured. His reason and mechanical knowledge would tell him that the almost absolute prevention of these horrors is a mere matter of mechanics.

Referring by number to the faults specified above, we shall find that many of them, even while we retain our present general system, may be corrected by a sufficient expenditure of brains and money. Indeed, much has already been done to mitigate attending evils and to attain safety and comfort in travel.

I. To correct instability of roadbed, we shall make wider embankments with longer slopes, using more solid masonry in places exposed to danger from floods. We shall avoid wooden bridges, build stone arches wherever they are practicable, make steel bridges with a much larger "safety factor," and establish a more rigid system of initial and periodical inspection. We shall abolish drawbridges wherever it is possible, and where this evil must be, we shall use some automatic device for absolutely stopping the cars in case the draw shall be open. But a railway should not cross a navigable river at grade, any more than it should so cross another railway or a wagon road. The difficulties in this matter will lessen as sailing vessels are supplanted by steamboats with low or folding chimneys, and as these are perhaps supplanted in their turn by electric boats having no chimneys at all. Possibly, also, modern engineering may attack the ancient set of devices known as a ship's rigging, and may evolve something which will easily fold down out of the way of a bridge that is only moderately high.

II. The various track obstructions can to a great extent be abolished by wider cuts, having longer slopes, properly dressed and cleared of dangerous trees; by proper fencing and patrolling; by avoidance of all grade crossings; by more rigid automatic block systems; by better self-acting brakes for broken trains; by placing adjacent tracks farther apart; and by the general use of "train telegraphy," which can be employed to indicate to any train the position of any other given train or part of one.

III. The remedy for weak tracks is principally a matter of constructing the rails of the best material, and of making them

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very much larger and heavier than those now used, which in many cases are barely strong enough for their work. Possibly, also, they will be electrically welded into much longer pieces than the present thirty-foot lengths, with expansion splice joints as strong as the rest of the rail. The probable future use of metallic cross ties, properly attached to a very wide rail base, will also be a potent factor in the safety and durability of the track. The general use of bridge floors will prevent a class of accidents that occur from the "bunching" of ties by derailed wheels.

IV. The fourth fault will probably be remedied, so far as crossings and closed switches are concerned, by better construction and inspection, and possibly by new devices for making the rails more nearly continuous. How to avoid accidents caused by the opening of switches at the wrong time is one of the most difficult questions with which railway people have to deal. Such accidents, however, can be almost entirely avoided by a sufficiently elaborate interlocking and signaling system. These devices are used in England much more than in America, but they are being rapidly improved and introduced everywhere. Possibly tracks for fast through trains will eventually be made absolutely continuous, with hydraulic or other hoisting machinery to transfer cars bodily to adjacent tracks. Of course such hoisting would have to be under the control of a block system, as much as would a moving train.

V. The remedy for short curves is to make longer ones. This is solely a matter of expense.

VI. Railway engineers consider talk about a broader gauge akin to treason, although a reaction has set in against the narrow-gauge craze prevalent a few years ago. The six-foot gauge which was tried and abandoned upon the Erie Railway and on other lines, was discarded not because of any inherent fault, but to harmonize these roads with the great majority of the railways already built, and thus to make possible the free interchanging of cars. The six-foot gauge, although a little better in the matter of stability than a narrower one, did not attempt to embody the ideal advantages of a really broad gauge. These could be attained by having a very wide, low car body, running within a few inches of the ground, with the wheels entirely outside of it,

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adjusted to perhaps a ten-foot or a twelve-foot gauge. Such a car, with its sill timbers properly shod and rounded at the ends, could not be upset easily, and might very likely slide sleigh-fashion upon the cross ties should it lose a few wheels. Our American bogie truck—a necessary outcome of our rough and crooked roads—would be abandoned. Some system of independently-hung wheels could be substituted, which would not grind upon the track at every curve, as do the present disgraceful constructions. Such an arrangement would be far safer than high, overhanging cars upon a narrow track, as any reader can understand who is mechanical enough to know that a row of bricks, end to end, can be pushed along the floor better upon their sides than on their edges. Such a scheme would be well suited to our present speeds, but, although it embodies important elements of safety, it is not likely ever to be adopted, because of its costliness, and because, to obtain high speed, we must lessen air resistance. This can be done only by decreasing cross section, that is, by making the cars as low and as narrow as possible, with proportionate length to obtain the required capacity. We cannot lower our roofs very much, and consequently we must still have our cars set up edgewise, so to speak. To secure the required stability, therefore, we must depend upon other means than gravity.

VII. Some of the remarks in the last paragraph are pertinent also in considering how to hold a train of cars to the rails. We must here go back to first principles, and must regard track and cars together as one machine, wherein a certain moving member slides in or upon a stationary member. If the slide (the vehicle) lies and moves freely upon a stationary flat surface (the roadway), the analogous case is that of an omnibus on a street. If the slide is placed in a shallow groove, which guides it laterally, we have the principle of our present railways; the wheel flanges, only one and one eighth inches deep, representing the effective depth of the groove. If we make a somewhat deeper groove within the other one, to act if the shallower one should fail, we embody the principle of the guard timbers used on elevated railways. Such crude constructions are sometimes used in machines, in cases where the sliding member is heavy, is wide in proportion

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to its height, and moves slowly. If, however, the slide must be light, narrow, and quick-moving—conditions essential to our future railways—it is always confined to its grooves by some means equivalent to making the groove of a dovetail or inverted-T section, or by surrounding the slide entirely by a tube. The ideal construction for a railway, absolutely to avoid derailment, would seem to be tubular, with the cars inside; but as tunnels are deservedly unpopular, we must confine our cars by devices placed entirely below the windows. Fortunately the modern methods of bridge-truss design lend themselves readily to a trough-like construction of considerable depth, with undercut sides. This could confine the wheels, or some other projecting part, within the trough, so that the car could not escape in any direction. Such construction is obviously unfitted for crossing any other kind of roadway at grade, and therefore must, in many situations, be elevated upon columns or arches. By making the railway a continuous metallic structure, raised out of the way of surface obstructions, and by its very elevation avoiding the sharp curves that sometimes seem necessary on the ground, we should secure all the advantages mentioned in this paragraph and in the six preceding ones, if it should be built with the proper smoothness and with enormous excess of strength. Obviously we have in this paragraph departed from the conditions existing in our present type of railway, where perhaps the only additional security we can expect will be from something of the guard-timber order, already referred to.

VIII. A partial remedy for the eighth fault, even with our present system of construction, might be found in track brakes, which are very little known in this country, although they are occasionally used in Europe. The benefit, however, would be slight, as we should still have only the weight of the car to produce friction. Such brakes are not desirable, as they wear the track and increase the danger of derailment. An ideal track brake, for efficiency, would be one which should grasp both sides of the rail with any desired force, but this is impracticable with our present style of fish plates, frogs, and switches. With the new construction this principle would be perfectly feasible, and there is no

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inherent reason why a car should not be stopped as suddenly as could be done without crushing it by its own momentum.

IX. Destructibility of rolling stock can be largely overcome by making car bodies and wheels of steel, india-rubber, and other non-brittle and non-inflammable materials, rather than of cast iron and wood. Danger from undue heat can be entirely avoided by the use of water moderately warmed, or, better, by an electrical warmer, which seems likely to be an invention of the near future. If collisions must occur, the damage to a car by crushing can be greatly mitigated by using the materials above mentioned, by a correct design of great strength for the car body, and by some system of cushioning at the ends that will give far greater yielding properties than do the present platforms.

X. Danger at windows and on platforms can be avoided by keeping obstructions, either stationary or moving, far enough away from car windows, and by making even better vestibules than the almost perfect ones now in use.

XI. For swaying and pounding, a remedy can scarcely be found while we retain our reciprocating locomotives. For well-known mechanical reasons the invention of a good rotary steam engine is hardly possible. The cure will probably come by the use of electrical propulsion, with its smooth revolving motions.

XII. For the physical discomforts cited, palliatives are easily foreseen in the use of well-constructed and carefully-operated ventilating and warming apparatus; in the absence of a cinder-making engine and of the steam whistle; in a track elevated above the sand and dust; and, last but not least, in a harmonious co-operation between track and cars, which will resemble more nearly the running of a bicycle upon asphalt, than the jolting of a dray upon cobble stones, as is often the case at present.

XIII. Danger to employees is encountered particularly in freight traffic, which is probably destined to be improved by many of the new methods. One principal reason why passenger cars are safer for trainmen than freight cars, is that, although the former run faster, the men are not obliged to walk upon the roofs, being able to pass through the train, as in the United States, or upon foot boards along the outside, as upon many European railways. Another reason is that the men have a plat-

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form to stand upon when coupling, and usually an automatic coupler to work with, instead of an amputating instrument. A further element of safety lies in the use of air brakes, which not only stop trains quickly, but help them to move smoothly, without the violent jars so prevalent upon freight trains. These common-sense devices are now beginning to come into use in freight traffic. When they shall become universal, we shall probably hear of lower figures than those recording the tragic death of 2,000 active men each year and the maiming of 20,000 more, in the United States alone. There are, however, about 1,100,000 freight cars in this country, and their alteration requires time.

XIV. The next fault, that of excessive weight, is the most crying evil in all railway work, especially as regards economy of operation. The dead weight daily dragged over our passenger railways, compared with the weight of the passengers transported, is, from an economic standpoint, simply appalling, and is hardly comprehended by the popular mind. An idea of the mechanical possibilities of such vehicles as are now in general use, may be obtained from the table following this paragraph. The weight of locomotives and cars is an approximate average of those used upon the principal American lines; and a mean, rather than a maximum, load of fuel and water has been allowed. In considering a whole train as a unit, no baggage car has been included, as it would only complicate the calculation by adding figures to both sides of the account, baggage being of the nature of freight. In assuming the number of cars in a train, I have not the data at hand for an absolutely correct fractional average. If the figures given in the table seem small for a through express, the reader must remember that on our numerous branch lines, and on other small roads, trains often consist of but two or three cars. The number given for a full load, in the third column, has been assumed equal to the seating capacity, with the following exceptions: In the third item, sleeping room only has been counted; in the fifth, some standing passengers, nearly up to the regulation limit of 80, have been allowed, instead of the 48 seated ones, as these trains are usually run in a crowded condition; in the ninth, for a like reason, 30 people have been counted as a load, instead of the 22 that can be seated; and in item 10,

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a coachman and a footman have been counted. With the exception of vehicles for only two passengers, the average load carried has been considered to be one half of the full load, and this agrees with estimates given me by practical railway managers of large experience. In item 18, an imaginary but perfectly practicable device is assumed. It would have a light leather cover or top, with small glass windows, that it might fairly compare with cars, barouches, and other inclosed vehicles. It could be driven from an overhead electric-car wire at as great a speed as it could be steered, if it should run on an asphalt road; or it could move as fast as a railway car if its wheels were fitted to a track.

I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.
Vehicles.	Weights in pounds, approximate.	Passengers, full load.	Passengers, probable average load.	Dead weight per passenger, full load.	Dead weight per passenger, average load.
1. Locomotive, with tender and half-load of fuel and water,	150,000	..	..	..	..
2. Elevated railway locomotive, with fuel and water,	50,000	..	..	..	..
3. Sleeping car,	75,000	24	12	3,125	6,250
4. Day car, first class,	50,000	60	30	833	1,667
5. Elevated railway car,	28,000	70	35	400	800
6. Locomotive and four sleeping cars,	450,000	96	48	4,687	9,375
7. Locomotive, sleeping car, and three day cars,	375,000	204	102	1,838	3,676
8. Elevated locomotive and four cars,	162,000	280	140	578	1,157
9. Electric street car, sixteen feet long,	8,600	30	15	287	573
10. Barouche, with glass windows,	1,200	6	3	200	400
11. One-horse omnibus,	1,000	10	5	100	200
12. Buggy, with top,	170	2	1½	85	113
13. Light sulky,	38	1	1	38	38
14. Tricycle, ordinary type,	70	1	1	70	70
15. Tricycle, light,	35	1	1	35	35
16. Bicycle, ordinary type,	40	1	1	40	40
17. Bicycle, light,	20	1	1	20	20
18. Tricycle, double, with half-horse-power electro-motor and top,	225	2	1½	112	150

In examining the table for total dead weight per passenger, in the fifth and sixth columns, such items as the third, tenth, and fourteenth should not be included, as the weights of locomotive,

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horses, or other propelling power do not appear. If, however, we examine the sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, and eighteenth items, we see the common condition of inclosed and propelled vehicles carrying non-working passengers. We here arrive at the somewhat startling conclusion that while, in the extreme case assumed in item 18, it is possible for a person to sit and ride at his ease protected from the weather, by carrying with him an amount of dead weight no heavier than his own body, yet in a limited express he must take with him 9,375 pounds, or nearly five tons. When dining and baggage cars are attached, this weight often exceeds six tons. The figures given are for American roads. I have not included any foreign ones, because I have no accurate data. I judge from observation, however, that the average dead weight must be considerably less in England, France, and Germany than it is here. The gain in those countries comes mostly from the absence of luxurious hotel trains; in ordinary trains the evil is probably nearly as great as with us, on account of the three "classes" of traffic.

If a layman in railway matters should wonderingly inquire regarding the necessity for the enormously and increasingly heavy rolling stock upon our lines, especially in the high grades of vestibule cars, he would probably be informed that a traveling hotel, mounted upon twelve wheels, built high and wide, and finished with hard woods, double plate glass, and upholstery, is naturally heavy. He might inquire why this weight has not been somewhat reduced by careful study and experiment, and might suggest some of the refinements of design and material which, for example, have developed that highly-organized spider web, the twenty-pound racing bicycle. He would be told that all such improvement is unnecessary, because the weight is required to keep the cars down on the track and to make them run smoothly! And this is all true. With our present form of track and our method of coaxing rolling stock to stay upon it, a great deal of ballast is absolutely necessary for the attainment of our maximum desired speed of, say, 75 miles per hour.

To remedy the fourteenth fault, therefore, we must first abolish the necessity for dead weight, and then get rid of a good deal of the dead weight itself. To accomplish the former result, we

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must confine our cars where we want them by some such track construction as has been suggested. We can then not only make them as light as we choose, but can run them fast without danger of derailment. Thus the remedies for different evils help one another. The abolition of the locomotive would aid still more, for it would remove the speed limitation before referred to, due to its reciprocating parts, and at the same time relieve the train of a great part of its dead weight. So far as we can now see, the locomotive is probably destined to be supplanted by electro-motors attached to the car axles; the weight of even the lightest cars, supplemented by that of the passengers, being ample for tractive purposes. The speeds attainable would be perhaps two or three times greater than can be reached with the present car of Juggernaut as a pulling machine.

In regard to the actual lightening of the cars themselves, a good deal may be done when the subject is taken up in earnest by some commission of mechanical engineers and inventors of the highest ability. Such designers, perhaps, after persistent study and experiment, will put into the best possible shape, for strength and lightness, some combination of steel, aluminium, india-rubber, leather, and paper, which will make a more scientific car than the joint product of the foundryman, coach-builder, house carpenter, and upholsterer that is at present in use. We have already seen by the table that electric cars are now running with a total dead weight per capita of less than 600 pounds, when but half loaded. There can be no question about the practicability of reducing this weight to 500 pounds, and it seems probable that, with the refinements of construction above indicated, we may at some time get these figures down to 400 pounds, or lower. If it shall prove practicable to use rubber tires upon the wheels, we may expect not only very high speeds, but an almost ideal smoothness of motion. We shall then look back to the railway car of to-day and find that its construction and action compare with those of the new vehicle somewhat as a navvy's wheelbarrow compares with a lady's tricycle.

OBERLIN SMITH.

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THE REVOLT AGAINST MATRIMONY.

THE free lovers and the dissolutionists have had their say, and they have said it pretty loudly. The upshot of their arguments is briefly this: the pleasure of the individual is to be preferred to the stability of the family. Morality; responsibilities voluntarily undertaken; the good of the children; the control of the animal in favor of the man, of the savage in favor of the citizen—nothing of all this is to count against the desire of those who, blind in purpose and rash in act, marry for passion rather than for affection, and dispense with esteem altogether.

Without doubt there are many hardships in marriage, many pitfalls, many difficulties. And the more complicated society becomes, the more highly strung the nerves, the more fastidious the tastes, the more sublimated the æsthetic standard, the more do those pitfalls and hardships increase, and the greater is the difficulty of perfect accord. Among primitive peoples, marriage means simply the continuance of the race and a certain kind of community of aid. The brave fights, hunts, fishes; the squaw cooks the meat that he brings in, tends the children, builds the hut, and does the rough work of such domestic life as they have. There is no more æstheticism of desire between these two than there is between the beasts of the field. The brave knows nothing of those jaded appetites which have to be flogged by strange excitements. He has none of those fastidious delusions which a shadow shocks and a fancy disgusts. His squaw is as good to him as any other woman would be, and habit weights the scale in her favor. As for her, so long as her brave fights like the rest, brings in meat like the rest, and gives his due proportion of children to the tribe, the squaw has no wish to change him for her neighbor's husband. She becomes dissatisfied and holds him in contempt only when he falls short of these elemental requirements. Hence arises the sentiment that a man's honor is implicated in his wife's inconstancy. For if he

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is as good a man as his neighbor, why should she wish to change? The fact of her infidelity is her bill of indictment and his condemnation.

Thus, among primitive monogamous peoples conjugal infidelity is rare. We put out of court polygamous and polyandrous institutions, and deal only with those men who have emerged from absolute brutality and have come into the beginning of a moral law and of a social organization. When human nature has become more complex, through the increased complexity of society, then something more than these simple conditions is required. Then discursiveness takes the place of constancy, and the line bends back till the circle is complete. The most polished society ends where the most brutal begins—in practical polygamy and polyandry. Between that moral chaos where animal instinct alone governs the sexual relation, and the disintegration of civilized corruption, there is not a pin's point to choose. In all times of the world's history the relations between the sexes have been the *cruces* of social polity. In monogamous countries marriage has been vaunted as a kind of ideal state of perpetual love and virtuous content; but while the strictest chastity has been required from women, both as wives and as maidens, free love has been largely recognized as among the needs of men. In the old days of especial masculine supremacy—say in post-Homeric Greece—womanly virtue was assumed to go *pari passu* with womanly seclusion. Those who mingled freely with men, who assisted at their banquets, who discussed love with Socrates and accepted it from Alcibiades, and even those who sold wares in the Agora, were women whom all might love and whom none need respect. But the wives and mothers of freemen kept within doors and held close to the four walls of home the daughters who were to be the wives and mothers of freemen in their turn. Adultery by women of position was a crime of rare occurrence among the Greeks, both pre-Homeric and post-Homeric, notwithstanding that fatal "beauty whose admired worth made Greece with ten years' war afflict poor Troy," notwithstanding the guilt of Clytemnestra and the weakness of Procris. Still, of course, the crime did exist in Greece, if but rarely; and discursive fancies broke out in the

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states of Hellas as they did in Judea, despite the terrible retribution to follow.

In early Rome, too, the higher form of marriage was held almost as sacred as the later sacramental ideal of the Catholics, and but few noble Roman matrons could have been found vicious enough to break their vows. But looser ties grew to be more in vogue, and divorce became as easy and as frequent as our modern free lovers would have it. Did not Cato give his wife to Hortensius, and take her back in all simplicity of restoration when death had removed his friend? And did not Paulus Æmilius fling off his "pinching shoe" for some obscure reason which a simpler time would not have recognized as any reason at all? Divorce, indeed, became as the shadow of marriage, and only at the ninth change was it treated as an offense. A line had to be drawn somewhere, and it was drawn there. "Marriage is but a ceremonial toy," says Marlowe's Mephistophelis; and the Roman ladies treated it as nothing else, reckoning time, as was said, not by the years of the consuls, but by the number of husbands they had had. But whether in ancient Greece or in Rome, in Christian countries or in Mohammedan, with polygamy as an indulgence or monogamy as a restraint, the difficulty between the needs of society and the desires of the individual remains as before, and the perfect adjustment, satisfying both, is yet to be found. Polygamy, which favors men, degrades women and destroys the unity of the family. Monogamy, which respects women and gives them equal rights and honor with men, is supplemented by a class which is a nation's curse and its own shame. Outside of savage life we have not steered clearer than this: either the Scylla of polygamy or the Charybdis of prostitution. If we adopt the code of the free lovers, and imitate the Romans in their facilities for divorce, we shall then make all society one huge whirlpool of vice, and our Charybdis will not be local and partial, but universal and all-absorbing.

Christianity demands not only monogamy, but as strict a life before marriage in men as in women. Human nature rebels, and the habits of men are not those of women. The good of society necessitates late marriages; for those youthful marriages which make the charm of poetry and the staple of romance, in prosaic

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practice mean pauperism and misery, and reduce the standard of good living and vitality. Improvident marriages count among the worst of our social crimes, and only the unconscientious, the inconsiderate, and the selfish enter into them. Taking, then, these two things—the necessity for late marriages and the demands of the masculine nature—we come, perforce, to different conditions between men and women before marriage; from which difference arise many sorrows and complications afterward. Men have known the charm or experienced the disappointment of change; women have not. In the first case, habits have been formed which destroy the essential meaning of monogamy, and revolt and alienate the wife when they are found out, as they generally are sooner or later. In the second, no allowance is made for that curiosity, that desire for experience, by which the modern woman is devoured as by a fever. The man, sated with "life," wants only the peace and security of domesticity. The woman, younger, fresher, unaccustomed, wants the variety, the excitement, and even the dangers, of a freer intercourse with the world. The modern woman who is content with marriage, maternity, and domestic life alone, is as rare a being as the black swan of the past. It all depends on her temperament where she seeks her distractions—whether in art, politics, philanthropy, money-making, or love. In any case, marriage is of the nature of an episode rather than the completed drama of her life; and even as an episode it is one of which she wearies sooner than the man.

In countries where divorce is easy, and to be had for other causes than those which we English allow, I believe I am right in saying that women make far the larger proportion of those who apply for relief from a tie which inconstancy of affection, if not necessarily infidelity, has rendered burdensome. It is easy to see why. A man has outside compensations of more kinds than one. His work, his ambition, even his surreptitious amours if he is so constituted, make of his home a place of rest; pleasant if he likes his wife, no worse than any other would be if he is indifferent to her. To change her for another venture would be troublesome and disturbing, and that other would probably be no more satisfactory than this. Then there are the children, of whom he is proud and fond; and, everything considered, he thinks

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it wiser and less worrying to keep things as they are, though his Angelina is not quite to his taste, and that shoe does pinch at times confoundedly! A new one might pinch worse; and the ills we know of are, on the whole, better than those that are unknown. All of which reasons make the majority of men more philosophical under an unsympathetic marriage than are the majority of women. For an unsympathetic marriage means the loss of a woman's romance. She has lost her husband's love, and she has not gained the solidity of friendship in its stead. She has only a master whose rights she resents. We must never forget that the charm of love to women is in being made love to. While they have all to grant, they are like the swan women in their white feather robes. When they have given themselves away, they have lost those robes, and from the state of superior beings, desired in proportion to their unattainability, they have fallen below the level of the former worshiper. As years go by, and the bloom of youth goes with them, the mature woman has a certain pride in proving her power and in renewing her youth by the love of men. The old time of romance returns. She becomes once more a sovereign. She finds her lost feather robe, and knows once more the joy of being sued, the charm of flattery, the fascination of power to grant or to withhold. Many a woman falls, not from the coarseness of animality, but from the more delicate seduction of sentiment, the more vaporous suggestions of romance, the mischievous misleading of vanity. These carry her to the edge of the abyss, and the man's stronger will and more imperious passion throw her over. When divorce is easy, she retains her self-respect in her changes. Abstract morals are mute where the law permits, and no woman cares for the good of the community in comparison with that of the individual. Where divorce is not easy and she has to walk warily, she damages her soul by the treachery, the deception, the falsehood which her infidelity brings with it. But a woman of this kind never stops. Her first lover is sure not to be her last, and her last is just as sure to be a young man who might almost be her son; thus a certain maternal element mingles with the more purely erotic, and she is at once mother and mistress—Minerva and Psyche in one. When the young man marries, her

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life of love comes to an end, if things go normally. But Bel Ami is not a monster *hors de ligne;* and very often the old tie is retained in spite of the new claims, giving the affair the piquancy of a double treachery and a twofold danger.

Besides these causes, a certain coarser strain of curiosity leads to the infidelity of women—to the preference of lovers over husbands, which is as noticeable in the present day as when those bitter lines were written which contrast the two. It is one phase of their desire for experience, and plays a larger part in their lives than is generally allowed for. From all of which causes springs the apparently strange and anomalous result, that women are loudly clamoring for easy divorce and deriding the sacredness of the marriage tie.

The world is ruled by phrases. "The inherent constancy of woman's nature" is one of them. In a simple state of society, where the instincts are all-powerful, this may be true enough. In a complex state like the present, where the instincts are starved in favor of the sentiments and the tastes, it is eminently untrue. And when we think of the chances against the perfect fitting of so many different angles, the want of harmony true of so many marriages becomes logically necessary. A difference of appreciation between Frith and Rosetti would be enough to bring the rift that we all know of, and Wagner on the one side and Rossini on the other would hollow a grave for dead Love as deep as that which would yawn between Swinburne and Keble. Many more things go to make marriage in its extended sense, now that we are all educated, and fastidious, and nervous, and æsthetic, and ambitious, and restless, than when we were coarse, quiet, undeveloped animals, content with the mere elements of existence; and these naturally make the seventh commandment harder to keep. Causes of dissatisfaction being multiplied, temptations are multiplied as well.

Catholicism, having made marriage a sacrament and practically indissoluble, has been obliged to show leniency to adultery. Councils of perfection are good to preach and better to strive for; but poor human nature is a very Icarus of aspiration, and those waxen pinions have such an unlucky aptitude for melting! Given a sufficient regard for public decencies, the

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married woman's lover in most Catholic countries is accepted as of the recognized order of things. In the Italian marriage settlements of the last generation or so, it used to be specified that not until the birth of the first son was the wife to be allowed her *cicisbeo;* and the adulterous loves of France have always been as notorious in fact as decorously conducted in practice. Why should it not be so? Educated in a convent, that is, kept from all knowledge of life as it is and in absolute seclusion from the outer world; married young, and by marriage introduced to freedom as great as her former restraint; with neither choice in her husband nor self-experience, and exposed to every kind of seduction; unable to obtain a divorce on any plea whatsoever; what has the young wife of nervous susceptibilities or discursive tendencies before her but absorption in the first commandment or violation of the seventh—godly devotion or conjugal infidelity? This much, however, may be said in favor of the system common to the Catholic and Latin races: a wise parent can choose better for a girl than she herself can. Love has a glamor which transforms to noble likeness the most sordid and least lovely material. Don Juan, Bel Ami, Paul Astier—neither one of them, nor any one like them, would a prudent mother accept for her daughter; but the daughter herself would go down before them like ripe corn before the sickle. These made marriages are based on the not entirely futile belief in the power of habit and in the close tie of the children, by which accord is secured and the home is created. Of course all the conditions must hang together. Freedom to girls means power of choice, and experience shows that a woman's preconjugal illusions do not always tend to make a successful marriage. The lost lover is sure to be the standard of comparison disadvantageous to the husband, and girls who have loved on their own account are naturally not willing to be arranged for by the mother. It is one of the queer bits of contradiction by which all human life is traversed, that the literature of this Catholic France, where marriage is a sacrament indissoluble, has done more to weaken respect for the tie and to show adultery as both interesting and inevitable, as both romantically beautiful and morally pardonable, than anything that the world has seen, done, or known.

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Much is made of the monotony of monogamous marriage, and the pain, amounting to anguish, which men experience when confronted every day with the same woman. Have they the fee-simple of this weariness of the flesh, this satiety of the spirit? Surely not! Surely the monotony of the same face, the same voice, the same manners, oppresses a woman equally with a man. But we do not allow a like practical outcome of discursiveness for the one as so many of the others take without leave. Yet the secret infidelity of women is more frequent than the open abandonment of wives by men. I say abandonment, not infidelity; for more husbands than wives go over the border, and supplement persistent monogamy with temporary plurality. But, then, a man's unfaithfulness does not count for so much in his life, nor ought it, save under conditions of personal insult and cruelty to the wife, because it does not entail the same consequences. Whatever the new morality may say, and however desirable it may be to have a like standard for the sexes, we are very far yet from the practice, and as society is now constituted it is mere hypocrisy to suppose that the two things are identical. While property in many countries descends through the man, and children inherit the father's estate and name, no reasoning on abstract principles can make the aberrations of a man as serious as those of a woman who gives her husband an illegitimate son to inherit his name and estate, and who cheats him of his love, his care, and his money for a child not his own. This is common sense as well as true apportionment. And while our estimate of morals follows, as it does, their social effects, we shall not alter this apportionment.

But with all the allowances that must perforce be made for a frail human nature which desires the better thing and follows after the worse, the sacredness of marriage has to be maintained by all who do not wish to see the world plunged into a very Malebolge of vice, and by all who hold to the stability of the family as the bulwark of good government. The outcry that has been made against the galling of the yoke and the pinching of the shoe, is but one among many evidences of the unrest of the present time, its rampant individualism, and its impatience of discipline. That this outcry should have been raised in England by women,

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and that facility of divorce and laxity of sexual relations should be advocated by them and not by men, only confirms the view which many have taken as to the moral evil that follows too great publicity of female life, and as to the political evil that would follow their political power, in the preference which they would give to the individual over the community—to the personal pleasure of the exceptional few over the sterner laws working for the permanent good of the majority. Grant that divorce should be easier to obtain than it is at present, and that at least two other causes should be included, namely, hopeless madness and persistent drunkenness; these would leave the marriage tie very much closer and more sacred than the advocates of free love demand. And with both these conditions the good of the state and of the family would be consulted. For neither madness nor drunkenness in the parent gives worthy citizens to the state or makes a decent home for the family. And to prevent shameful births, if possible, comes well within the right of wise legislation. To these causes for divorce should be added felony. We make too little account of the disgrace of crime. With the exclusiveness of chivalry we have lost some of its noble disdain of dishonor. We have "slopped over" into such excessive pity as to blur the line of demarcation between shame and steadfastness. The individual must be rehabilitated at all costs. The price to be paid is the weakening of our national sense of honor, our comparative indifference to dishonor, our indistinctness of line as to what is right and what is wrong, our disastrous application of the personal sweetness of Christian forgiveness to public defaulters, and our conclusion that, after all, it does not much matter. One stain more or less—what then? If God is not extreme to mark what is done amiss, and if love has displaced the law of retribution, what are we that we should be overscrupulous in our rejection? Hence felony, even of the worst kind, does not break the marriage tie. Yet this cause, together with madness and drunkenness, might well take the place of the personal impatience insisted on by the free lovers; the union of passion with moral enmity which Tolstoi makes diabolical enough to condemn the whole system and practice from end to end, the selfishness, disguised as

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spiritual awakening, which leads Ibsen to represent a woman's desertion of all her duties as a sublimer thing than prosaic acceptance of things as they are.

The tendency of man is upward. We know not whether there is really an archetypal ideal which inspires us and to which we are spiritually led; or whether this striving after goodness is the result of evolution, ourselves not knowing how or why; or whether, again, this tendency is merely the convenience of society, which we clothe in the garment of righteousness and indue with sacred authority as if taught us from a power above. We know not how it comes about and what its ultimate end and aim may be, but the fact is there. We know that to subdue the beast that is in us, and to suppress the individual for the sake of the community, is the higher law. This cry for making divorce so easy as to destroy all sacredness in marriage, is a step backward. It is the disintegration of society, the ruin of the family, the apotheosis of the beast, the annihilation of the citizen. If the children belonged to the state, and if parentage meant simply production, then the free lovers might well have their innings. A child would be always the property of the state, and marriage would be an obsolete superstition. But this kind of life would be impossible as things are. The moral sense of mankind has gone far beyond the reproduction of old Roman license and mediæval profligacy. When the philosophy of "Sympneumata" and "The Kreutzer Sonata" finds men and women, not in Bedlam, ready to discuss and accept it as a possible way out of difficulties, the theories of free lovers must fall to the ground.

Nevertheless, though we should hold always to the sacredness of the tie, to the maintenance of the family, to the suppression of the individual in favor of the community, and to the subjugation of the animal appetites in favor of the duties of the citizen, the question needs some reconsideration and some rearranging. We ought to include as causes of divorce certain moral offences hitherto ignored. Just as the ten commandments do not cover the whole ground of modern evil, and only by artificial stretching can be made to do so, so are modern social and political conditions out of touch with certain ancient ordinances. But in any case marriage is a sacred and solemn obligation, and

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must be held in honor and treated with care and respect. If mutual pain is too great, we can always separate without hurting the consciences of the weak or opening the door to riot. We have undertaken responsibilities, and we must "dree our weird" in the best way we can. We must not shuffle off those responsibilities, or sacrifice the good of the whole for the solace of a part. Patience, self-control, the higher virtues generally, often help us to wear that pinching shoe of ours with tolerable ease; and when life draws to an end it is not bad to be able to assert: "My example has done no one harm, and has caused no one to offend," which the free lover and open adulterer can scarcely say.

E. Lynn Linton.

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The Commercial Forum.

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PUEBLO, COLORADO.

THE MANUFACTURING AND SMELTING CITY OF THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS.

THERE are *pueblas* and *pueblas*, but only one Pueblo.

Respecting its geographical location, it sits on the sunny side of the Rocky Mountains, in the valley of the Upper Arkansas, forty miles east of the "royal gorge" made by that stream in debouching from the mountains.

HOW IT CAME BY ITS NAME.

When it is known that the Arkansas was the border line of the early Spanish conquests and civilization, the queer names of places will be the more easily accounted for.

The trappers and other adventurers who preceded our own westward advance here met with Mexicans and Indians who employed in common a corrupted Spanish language. The Indians lived in *pueblas*, or towns, which in most cases consisted of one large structure of abode, with a court in the center.

Thus it will be seen how natural and legitimately the name Pueblo came to the subject of this sketch. There is but one original Anglo-Saxon Pueblo.

Some of its enthusiastic admirers have rechristened it "Pittsburg of the West," "Pride of the Rockies," and "Silver Smelting Center of the United States." But the simple sobriquet "Pueblo," the world must learn, comprehends all of these.

HOW THE SITE CAME TO BE SELECTED.

There is an old aphorism, "The blood is the life," doubtless relating to animal life. But men have learned that in every desirable habitable country "the water is the life." This is especially true of high and arid countries.

The argonauts of '59, as well as those of '48, followed the water-courses. Likewise did the exploring expeditions of Pike and Frémont. The junction of the *Fontaine Qui Bouille* (Boiling Springs River) with the Arkansas was a natural meeting-place for immigrant, trapper, and prospector. The streams were landmarks and the timber which studded their banks guide-posts. The valleys afforded rich pasturage for

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PUEBLO, COLORADO.

their cattle and abounded with game. The sands of the streams contained the shining grains of the precious metals, indicating a larger store in the mountains above. The hills were seamed with coal. It therefore required no gray-bearded seer to say that here in these foot-hills of right there ought to be a city.

WHAT WAS EXPECTED OF PUEBLO WHILE YET IN ITS INFANCY.

Writing of Pueblo twenty years ago, one of the pioneers urged her claims and predicted her future in this wise: "Of a steady, rapid growth, with a large and increasing trade, the natural center of a vast stretch of agricultural and grazing land, with a mild, equable, and salubrious climate, Pueblo, already the commercial metropolis of southern Colorado, has a future before it bright and promising indeed. It requires very little prescience to foresee that at no remote day this rising city, surrounded by so many natural advantages, will tower in its pride of place as perhaps the leading commercial mart of the whole Territory. Its population, though yet comparatively small, being but a little in excess of eight hundred souls, is fast multiplying; and when it is considered that two years ago the total number of inhabitants was less than fifty, the ratio of increase is gratifying to the most sanguine."

FULFILLMENT OF PROPHECY.

From the standpoint of twenty-one years later it is easy to see that the fathers "builded wiser than they knew," and that their prophecies have been generously fulfilled.

Taking the official returns of population, we have a scale ascending like this:

Year.....	1867.	1870.	1880.	1885.	1888.	1890.
Population	50	666	3,317	12,388	13,320	28,125

There doubtless have been growths quite as phenomenal for shorter periods of time, but taking the whole twenty-three years of Pueblo's life, it may be questioned whether there has been anywhere a more healthy and at the same time rapid growth.

So much for the multiplication of souls.

For that part of the prophecy relating to commercial ascendency it will be sufficient to note simply, as derived from official sources, that in 1868, with wagon transportation, the amount of freight received was 1,078,350 pounds, and in 1889, 564,740,000 pounds, estimating the 28,237 car-loads received at 20,000 pounds each.

Additional evidence of the growth of the city is afforded by the totals of valuations of property by the assessors for four years. The figures, of course, represent only about 30 per cent. of the true valuation. They are:

1887.	1888.	1889.	1890.
$4,641,695	$6,264,350	$9,444,630	$11,381,947

What are the main features of Pueblo to-day? There must be but an outline, or the reader will lose patience and skip.

IRON AND STEEL MANUFACTURE.

The works of the Colorado Coal and Iron Company take the lead. Here are two immense blast furnaces from which run streams of molten pig-iron; converting works making Bessemer steel ingots; rail mills shooting forth red-hot arrows day and night; nail mills, merchant bar mill, iron pipe works, machine shops, each performing its several mission. The company employs in this plant alone, to say nothing of its coke works and coal-mining operations, $2,250,000 of capital.

SMELTING AND REFINING WORKS.

Next in order will be noticed the black stacks representing three smelters of the precious metals, where by some strange alchemy the dull-looking ores dug from the adjacent mountains are made to yield glistening streams of lead copper, silver, and gold. In 1889, which was an "off year," these works produced $6,200,000 worth of

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metal, which until then had never before seen the light. Under the new incentive given to mining operations the supply of ore for the present year is much more satisfactory, and it is safe to calculate upon an output 30 per cent. greater at the least than in 1889. Think of nine millions more, for use as money or in the arts, produced at Pueblo alone!

IRON AND BRASS FOUNDRIES AND SHOPS.

There also are the artificers in brass and iron. One large foundry is devoted mostly to railroad castings; another to mining tools and machinery; another to brass and copper articles; another to wrought and cast iron fencing; another to barb wire.

BUILDING-BRICK AND FIRE-CLAY PRODUCTS.

Not the least important are those who model clay of various kinds into bricks for building; near a dozen firms are turning out brick for building, and yet the supply has been short. Among the new enterprises are fire-brick works, furnishing the much-needed materials for the smelting furnaces. One plant of this sort has been erected and is in full operation, and a second one well advanced.

ELECTRIC LIGHTING AND STREET-RAILWAY SYSTEM.

Three principal electric plants illuminate the city and move its street-cars. Fifteen miles of electric-car lines, admirably equipped, are operated at this writing, and the end is not yet. The extensions are still in progress, and another year will see the mileage doubled.

ARTIFICIAL ICE.

From the white heat of the furnaces and dynamos it is refreshing to turn to an equally successful industry, that of making ice. The Pueblo Distilled Water and Ice Company is one of the solid manufacturing institutions born in 1890. It has proved a glittering success from the start, and is regarded with great favor by ice consumers and stockholders as well.

A STRATEGIC RAILROAD POINT.

Pueblo is a strategic point for the railroads. The Valley of the Arkansas and the passage-way out of the mountains which it made for its own egress form the gateway by which the wealth of the mining regions may be reached easily by rail. The same valley, or basin, as it has been termed, is rimmed, seamed, and underlaid with coal of superior quality. The locomotive takes very naturally to coal. The railroads seem to scent it from afar. Five trunk lines tap Pueblo, and others are heading toward the same point. The stretch of six hundred miles from the Missouri to the mountains is a long one, but if there is coal to be hauled back to the treeless and coal-less plains of Kansas and Nebraska, it is worth while to build the lines.

Mr. Gould, after he had determined to extend the Missouri Pacific to Colorado in 1887, expressed the opinion at Denver that Pueblo was better situated to control the trade of the State than Denver.

Other opinions of the same tenor from men of national fame might be cited, but is further proof that Pueblo is a strategic railroad point necessary?

DISTINGUISHING CHARACTERISTICS.

The characteristics of Pueblo distinguishing her from the average town of the same population have mostly been given, but not all.

There are the oil fields, within thirty miles of the city, now putting out about 500 barrels of oil daily.

There are inexhaustible deposits of iron ore, zinc ore, and many valuable clays in close proximity.

There is the splendid but unimproved water power of the Arkansas, which has a

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PUEBLO, COLORADO.

fall of 17 feet per mile; there are the coking coals near by, from which superior coke is being made by the Colorado Coal and Iron Company.

There is the unequaled climate, which, coupled with the mineral waters of our artesian wells, renders Pueblo the city of refuge for the army of unfortunates pursued by diseases incident to more rigorous climates.

ALL THESE THINGS ADDED.

Let it not be supposed that Pueblo is destitute of the numerous other concomitants of civilized conditions, such as churches, public and private schools, benevolent institutions, Young Men's Christian Association, public library, mercantile establishments, first-class hotel accommodations, a splendid opera-house, creditable public buildings, and a model fire department. All of these are here.

If from the foregoing the reader has gained a reasonably correct idea of what Pueblo is to-day, and noticed by what ratio of growth it has attained its present position, my labor will not have been in vain.

WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

It ought to be possible also to persons of average discernment to prognosticate the future of this city from this base.

Conservative calculation would give the city 60,000 in five years more, and in ten years 100,000 population.

The cheap and abundant fuel, the transportation facilities—which will surely be enlarged—and the good beginning already made in that direction mark the city as a future great manufacturing point.

The same causes that have already contributed to make it the greatest smelting point of the precious metals in the United States will tend to further enlarge these industries until Pueblo in this particular will lead the world. Silver is king, and Pueblo will be the seat of its empire.

For reasons before given, the commercial importance of the city must keep pace with its growth in other directions.

Investments in real estate within a few years past have yielded sometimes 100, sometimes 1,000 per cent. in a year. Would it be unreasonable to expect 20 per cent. a year for the next five years? The oracle thinks not.

So might we continue *ad infinitum*, in the best of faith, to calculate and paint pictures of what Pueblo shall be in the year of our Lord 2000, but there would be unbelievers still. To revise an ancient saying: "True wisdom consists not only in seeing what is immediately before our eyes, but in foreseeing what is to come."

CHAS. W. BOWMAN.

THE FAST-FLYING VIRGINIAN.

THIS is the name of the perfectly-equipped train on the Chesapeake and Ohio road which runs through the most picturesque region east of the Rocky Mountains —the Shenandoah and Piedmont valleys of Virginia. This train has every requirement of the most luxurious traveling—sleeping-cars, drawing-room cars, a dining-car, steam heat, electric light, speed, and safety. And the scenery of the route is both picturesque and historic, for it leads to the battle-fields of Bull Run, Manassas, and Culpeper.

This is the most complete vestibule train between the East and West, and the only one with a through dining-car between Cincinnati and New York by way of Washington.

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TOPEKA, KANSAS.

AMONG the cities of commanding prominence in the West is Topeka, the capital of Kansas. Including the suburban towns, it numbers over 40,000 people, more than a thousand for each year of its historic life. In wealth, commerce, and activity and in all that pertains to an intelligent, cultivated, and sturdy community, Topeka stands high up on the list of western cities.

PUBLIC IMPROVEMENTS.—The public improvements in any city are a true index to the spirit and character of its citizens. Where an enterprising and progressive spirit is the dominating influence that moves the people, public improvements will keep pace with increasing population. Apply this standard of measurement to Topeka, and its position among the many progressive cities of the West is one of distinction and pre-eminence. The broad and beautiful streets and avenues, with miles of asphalt, stone, cedar block, and vitrified brick pavement, are the wonder and admiration of the stranger that visits the city. Its system of sewerage is comprehensive in its scope and thorough in its detail. Its water-works accommodate an increasing population with ease, while the four electric light companies and one gas company afford a faultless system of lights for the entire city.

WATER-WORKS.—The Holly system was built in 1880 and cost five hundred thousand dollars. There are now thirty-one miles of mains and three hundred double hydrants for fire protection. Enlargements and extensions of the plant are now being made, involving an outlay of more than half a million dollars.

ELECTRIC LIGHTS AND POWER.—This city is entitled to the distinction of being called the "Electric City." There are now over twenty-five miles of electric railway in operation, which will be largely increased within the next few months. More than a million dollars have already been invested here in the numerous electric plants supplying light and locomotion. In addition to these there is telephone and messenger service, operated by local companies.

PUBLIC BUILDINGS.—The location of government and State institutions at Topeka demonstrates its importance as a commercial and political metropolis, while the county and city buildings are a faithful index to the local importance of the city. The Government building, supposed to be large enough for all time when built a few years ago, is crowded full, and some of the officers of the government are compelled to find quarters elsewhere in the city. This splendid structure will have to be enlarged to meet the wants of the rapidly-growing volume of business transacted by the government officials located here. Four government land offices were recently consolidated, with headquarters at Topeka, and this is the location of the Federal courts with their numerous officers.

The Capitol building occupies a commanding site in the centre of the city. Two wings of this building are now complete and the main building is under roof. The cost of the building ($3,000,000) seems large, but its splendor and magnificence are commensurate with the outlay.

CHURCHES.—There are one hundred and twenty-four church organizations in the city, with a total membership of 11,836, occupying 53 church edifices. Many of these are magnificent structures. The church property is valued at $632,000. The bishops of the Methodist Episcopal and Episcopal churches reside here, and preparations are made for the construction of an Episcopal cathedral to cost $250,000.

SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES.—As Athens stood above its contemporaries as a city of culture and learning, so Topeka has passed all other cities of its age in the number, variety, and splendor of its schools and colleges. Free public schools are maintained from eight to ten months each year, under a beneficent system fostered by the State, so comprehensive in its aims and so thorough in its details that we have a smaller percentage of illiteracy and crime than any other organized civil society upon the face of the globe. The magnificent buildings, the rich endowments, the superb equipage of our schools and colleges, are the pride and admiration of our people.

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TOPEKA, KANSAS.

Topeka is the growing resort of the West for the sons or daughters of cultivated and discriminating parents who patronize only the best schools.

The city of Topeka has twenty-four school buildings that cost $420,000, in which 126 teachers are employed. This free-school system cost the city in 1889, $100,000.

There are 100 school districts in the county outside the city schools, employing 113 teachers and having school property valued at $160,000.

Washburn College (Congregational), liberally endowed and superbly equipped, has property worth $500,000 and has an enrollment of 300.

Bethany College (Episcopal), for young ladies, employs 26 teachers, has buildings and grounds worth $425,000, and an enrollment of 400.

There are also two business colleges, a Catholic school, a theological and German school, and a medical college.

In addition to these the Methodists have acquired 800 acres of land, upon which they are now erecting buildings to be occupied as a great central university, to which the smaller denominational schools of the West shall be feeders. This enterprise, now fully organized and incorporated, with ample capital at its command, is in the hands of men who will make it the foremost school of its class in the Western States.

LIBRARIES.—The State Legislature has been munificent in its appropriations to maintain the State Library, which occupies commodious quarters in the Capitol building and embraces 62,000 volumes. A librarian who knows all about books uses the funds of the State in buying the latest and best books of every kind. The citizens of Topeka have free access to this wonderful collection of books.

The Free City Library, which has no equal in any western city either in the convenience of its quarters or the number and character of its books, is open day and evening the year round. In this library may be found 11,000 books. Add to the State and city libraries the college and school libraries and those owned and controlled by private organizations and societies, and it may well be questioned whether any other city in the country of 40,000 population can equal the showing made.

FINANCIAL.—A new community is rarely a wealthy community. Riches accumulate with age. But a city's importance as a factor in the financial world is determined from the wealth it employs in commercial affairs, and not from its investments in bonds and stocks. Topeka is a rich city for one of its age, and in the volume of its business, as shown by the capital employed by its moneyed institutions, is a city of great commercial activity.

Its banks are the strongest in the State, and their aggregate deposits and capital demonstrate that Topeka is rapidly growing in wealth and is developing an opulence of commerce highly creditable to the city. The loan companies and brokerage institutions of Topeka do the business of the State, and many of them extend their operations into other States and Territories. Much of the capital of our banks and loan companies is held by our own citizens, and the large returns derived from such investments are added to our local wealth. The volume of business carried by this large capital extends from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean. There are ten banks in the city with an aggregate capital of $2,400,000 and fourteen loan and brokerage institutions with a total capital of $2,900,000.

STREET RAILWAYS.—No city in the United States of the same population has equal street-railway facilities with Topeka.

There are four companies, with an employed capital of $1,155,000, operating fifty-eight miles of street railway.

NEWSPAPERS.—Schools, libraries, and newspapers go hand in hand and constitute a potential trinity in the symmetrical development of any community. The large list of splendid papers in Topeka proves two things: First, that the city has an intelligent reading population, and, second, a prosperous and liberal class of business

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TOPEKA, KANSAS.

men. Readers and advertisers make good papers. Topeka has both in abundance—therefore more good papers than any other city of its size in the country. A dull, lethargic community could not maintain one half the papers that are profitably published in Topeka. The list includes three daily, twenty-one weekly, and nineteen monthly publications.

MILLS AND ELEVATORS.—Topeka has earned the merited distinction of being the milling center of the West. The number and capacity of our mills, together with their daily and annual output, place Topeka at the head of the list of western cities, and it is surpassed only by Minneapolis in the Northwest. Topeka flour is found in all the markets of the world. There are eight mills in the city having an invested capital of three quarters of a million dollars and registering a daily output of 2,100 barrels.

GENERAL INDUSTRIES.—Exclusive of mills and railway shops, there are in Topeka 193 industrial and manufacturing enterprises, representing a total investment of $4,000,000 and employing a large number of skilled and unskilled laborers.

RAILROADS.—Ask any man intimately acquainted with the railroad history of the United States to name the four most important western lines, and the answer would be the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé, the Rock Island, the Union Pacific, and the Missouri Pacific. Each of these great trunk lines makes Topeka an important point in its system. The fact that sagacious men have built these lines to Topeka is of itself significant of the city's greatness as a commercial emporium. These four roads, with their branches and connections in every direction, make Topeka the most conveniently accessible city in the State. The general offices of the Santa Fé system are located here and occupy a magnificent five-story building, in which are employed about 500 officers and clerks. The general shops of this road also are here and embrace a group of six large buildings, employing over 2,000 men.

The Rock Island, although newer in the field, has superb general offices and shops and maintains a large force of well-paid employees. JAMES A. TROUTMAN.

STAUNTON, VIRGINIA.

Previous letters have told of the new plants already obtained and in prospect for Staunton; of the Staunton Building Company, which will soon employ fifty men in its new shop; of the Staunton Roller Mill Company, which, in addition to the new outfit of machinery, will erect also a wheat elevator of 50,000 bushels capacity in connection with a Caldwell conveyer to convey the wheat from the cars on the railroad track to the elevator; of the John Kroder Brass Works, of which the following additional mention may be pertinent:

The established business concern by which this plant is to be located in Staunton is owned and conducted by Mr. John Kroder, of New York City. He has at present two factories, one at 90-96 Clinton Street, New York, and the other at Rockland, Sullivan County, N. Y. His offices and warerooms are in New York City, at 255 Canal Street. He manufactures curtain poles, with their brass attachments, and a variety of brass goods for house-furnishing and decoration. His present force of employees in both factories varies between 125 and 175 men. His gross business amounts up toward $1,000,000 per year, and extends through all portions of the United States and Canada.

The new factory in Staunton is to be at first a branch establishment for supplying and increasing Mr. Kroder's southern trade, and is to employ 100 men. His business through this section has recently begun to assume large poportions, partly because he has made efforts to increase it, but principally because the mass of the southern people are beginning to use many articles of home comfort and decoration that a few years ago were seldom seen south of Pennsylvania or Maryland. After a time, how-

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STAUNTON, VIRGINIA,

ever, as learned from a letter written recently by Mr. Kroder, Staunton is to be manufacturing and shipping headquarters for the entire business. Salesrooms will be maintained in New York City, where nearly all extensive concerns have offices and warerooms, but Mr. Kroder will then manufacture nothing there except a few specialties required for his city trade. His manufacturing will be transferred gradually from New York to Staunton. Eventually the pay-roll of the Staunton factory will probably contain the names of more than 250 regular employees.

A site comprising something more than one acre of land has been donated for Mr. Kroder's factory by the Saunton Development Company. It will be reached by the Delevopment Company's own private side-track, connecting with both the Baltimore and Ohio and the Chesapeake and Ohio railroads.

The factory building will be 50 x 250 feet in size, with two stories. Bids for its construction were advertised for by Mr. Kroder recently, and a contract for the work will be awarded as soon as bids can be received.

The contract for the fourth manufacturing establishment secured for this city by the Staunton Development Company was signed several weeks ago. It is to be more extensive than any of those previously secured, and will therefore be the largest and most important industry ever established in Staunton or Augusta County.

The Bodly Wagon Company, of Wheeling, W. Va., is the concern with which the contract was made. It operates one of the best-conducted factories among the many prosperous establishments of Wheeling, and has carried on its business in that city for fifty-eight years. It has decided to move from Wheeling because its land there is insufficient for an enlargement of its manufacturing capacity, made necessary by the growth of its business. The land occupied by its buildings and lumber-yards has been encroached upon by condemnations for streets and railroads, and the value of that which remains has become so great as to be an inducement for moving to some other place. Arrangements for selling its Wheeling property have already been made. All the manufacturing of the company will be done at Staunton. To increase the capacity of its factory is, therefore, the Bodly Wagon Company's chief object in moving from Wheeling. Its business extends to all parts of the country, including California, and is especially large in the southwest. From its depository in New Orleans it supplies cane carts, a specialty of its business, to most of the sugar planters of Louisiana. Log carts are another specialty. Farm wagons also are to be made at Staunton, and some kinds of agricultural machinery. Work will be commenced within a week or two for the erection of a first-class modern factory at Staunton, on a site donated by the Development Company from its manufacturing reservation east of the city. The buildings will occupy ten acres of ground.

The Bodly Company, after its long and successful career in Wheeling, is coming to Staunton to carry on and build up its business with increased energy, in harmony with the industrial development of the South. It is to be a model concern in every respect, as it has been on a smaller scale heretofore. The factory is expected to be ready for the manufacture of wagons by the first of next July. It is expected that after this new factory has been put in full operation its employees will number between 200 and 250 men.

Of the large number of other manufacturing concerns with which the Development Company is now negotiating, it is expected that contracts will soon be closed with the following: a watch factory, to employ 400 skilled workmen; knitting mill, to employ between 200 and 300 persons; foundry and machine shop, 100 men; wagon factory, 200 men; large shoe factory, with capacity sufficient to make Staunton the headquarters of shoe-manufacturing in the South.

A railroad side-track from the Chesapeake and Ohio to the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad will be built by the Development Company for the use of manufacturing establishments located on its lands.

Further details concerning Staunton's progress will appear in the February COMMERCIAL FORUM.

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CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA.

AMONG all the towns and cities of Virginia, Charlottesville has the most striking advantages in the way of development as an educational, social, and manufacturing center. It is the seat of the University of Virginia, with properties and endowments aggregating in value over $2,000,000; within its limits and within walking distance are some of the best equipped preparatory and high schools—for both boys and girls—in the country. Its free-school system has been developed in highest perfection, and all Virginia students attend the university free of tuition. Charlottesville is the junction of two great trunk railways—the Richmond and Danville, running north and south, and the Chesapeake and Ohio, running east and west; only 100 miles from Richmond and 114 miles from Washington. It is the county seat of Albemarle, one of the largest, most fertile, and populous counties in Virginia, and tributary to it are the thrifty counties of Orange, Greene, Nelson, and Fluvanna—all in the Piedmont region, famed for its beauty of landscape, fertility of soil, purity and health of climate, and exceptionally refined and conservative population. Albermarle is famed for its fruit and vineyards. Its hills are covered with orchards and vines. The Albermarle pippin sells for $16 per barrel in Liverpool.

The population of Charlottesville and its immediate suburbs is about 8,000, an increase of over 100 per cent in the last ten years as shown by the census.

Already, without organized effort, important and large industrial enterprises have been located at Charlottesville, among them the Charlottesville Woolen Mills, with a capital of $250,000, one of the largest in the South; two knitting factories, over 100 hands each; the Monticello Wine Company and the Hotoph Cellars, whose wines are known all over America; planing mills; sash, door and blind factories; carriage and wagon factories; extensive foundry and agricultural machine shops; several brick factories; three cigar factories; two ice factories. Besides these, the city has a first-class gas plant, and an electric light plant; and the water-works are all a city could desire.

With its natural and climatic advantages, had Charlottesville been in New York, Pennsylvania, or New England, its population would now exceed 100,000.

Now Charlottesville has waked up. Her leading citizens, backed by the entire population, have organized the Charlottesville Land Company with officers selected for their business capacity and fidelity to all trusts, and they have determined to utilize the great trade advantages of their city and to make it the metropolis of Piedmont Virginia.

Its officers are Thos. S. Martin, one of the most prominent legal and business men in Virginia, president; Micajah Woods, vice-president and general manager. He is State's attorney for Albemarle, whose fitness for the important duties is recognized by all interested in the enterprise, he having already managed important enterprises with great success; Judge John M. White, treasurer, and Mr. Frank A. Massie, secretary, all known throughout Virginia as gentlemen of the highest capacity and strictest integrity. This organization is one of the strongest in the South.

This company has bought directly from the owners the most attractive lands in and belting the city, without the intervention of promoters, at amazingly low prices; they own and control nearly 2,000 acres, and already through these lands are laid to great extent gas and water pipes and electric wires. The lands border on the great railroads, and large reservations are made for factory sites. Indications are that the population will be doubled in twelve months. The stock of the company is being taken in large blocks by people in Virginia and elsewhere, and is believed to be the surest and best offered in Virginia. The terms are easy. Investors from all parts of the Union are soliciting the stock and properties of the company. The stockholders are the promoters, and their expectation is to realize speedily several fold on their investments. Parties interested will communicate with Micajah Woods, the general manager.

W. E. CHRISTIAN.

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SALEM, VIRGINIA.

THE new towns in Virginia along the Norfolk and Western Railroad are all in the line of development, with varying degrees of advancement and rapidity of growth. Many of them are alive to their present opportunities, and a few occupy salient points.

Salem is a salient town.

At some time Roanoke and Salem will be consolidated into one great city. The two towns are six miles apart and common sense will demand their union. Already there are many linking circumstances, but the most powerful uniting force is the new motor line just completed between the two cities.

Every growing town has one especially important feature: this motor line is this important feature of Salem.

This line runs through the property of the Salem Development Company, of which Col. A. M. Bowman is president. In the very beginning of the recent growth of Salem, the commanding opportunities of the property of the Development Company, both for residences on commanding heights and for manufacturing establishments on level bottom land, were obvious; and these opportunities have now been utilized to a great degree.

This portion of new Salem is almost a complete little town in itself—not to speak of the additional impetus contributed by the other companies.

Apropos of the recent work of the Development Company, the following, from the Salem *Times-Register*, one of the best local papers in Virginia, is interesting:

"For some time negotiations have been going on for the purchase, by the Salem Development Company, of the patents, patterns, machinery, and entire assets of the Olean Cart Company of New York. We are happy to announce that these negotiations have been brought to a successful close, resulting in a contract by which the entire plant of the Olean Company will be removed to the lands of the Salem Development Company as soon as the buildings for the accommodation of this plant can be erected, and these buildings will be put to contract just as soon as the plans and specifications for them can be prepared. Two extensive shops, 250x70 feet and four stories high, will be erected for a beginning, and 75 skilled laborers will be employed, and others will be added as the business grows.

"Besides being of great value to the city, this large industry will be quite a paying one, as it has practically no competition and meets a growing want. These vehicles are made in the highest style and finish of the trade, and are the easiest-riding and most convenient vehicles ever produced. One of the special points of this vehicle —and one which has long baffled the best efforts of all cart-makers—is the fact that it is absolutely free from all horse motion, under all circumstances, not even excepting cobble-stone pavements. Another is that it is the only two-wheeler ever made not having the balance and bearing on the horse when the passengers are in the vehicle. These are points that cannot be claimed for any other two or four wheeled vehicle produced, and place the 'Chadwick two-wheeler' beyond competition. With this splendid plant, the Salem Woolen Mills—just completed and machinery nearly ready to move into it—the Gas Heater Company's works, first building just completed, and the pants factory, just let to contract, and the proposed car works—in all giving employment to 1,000 people—the Salem Development Company has an enviable record for solid present worth and future progress."

In preceding articles in the COMMERCIAL FORUM the picturesqueness and healthfulness of Salem have been pointed out, and readers have been told of its central position in the midst of the mining and manufacturing district; of the raw materials at hand; of the abundant supply of timber; of the water power of Roanoke River; of the cheapness of fuel; of the abundance of wool supply for textile fabrics; of the proximity to the cotton fields; of the lowness of freights; of the different manufactories daily increasing; of the fertility of the soil; of the railroad facilities

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SALEM, VIRGINIA.

brought into life by the focalization here of the Norfolk and Western, the Roanoke and Southern, and the Baltimore and Ohio; and of the probability of the Chesapeake and Ohio building to this point.

As the *Register* says: "One thing may now be considered as settled by the substantial growth of Salem, and that is this: every railroad that is built into the Roanoke Valley will be built to Salem and Roanoke; and this means that we shall enjoy all the advantages of several competing lines."

For minuter details write to Col. A. M. Bowman, president of the Salem Development Company.

SALE OF LOTS AT BASIC CITY.

On Thanksgiving night the Hotel Brandon, at Basic City, was formally opened. This hotel, before described in these pages, has just been completed at a cost of about $75,000, and is brand-new from top to bottom; new not in the veneering sense, but thoroughly handsome, comfortable, and modern in every respect. It is much the fashion nowadays for some towns to print the plans of hotels and send them out to the country, and when people come they find in fact no place to lay their heads. Not so with Basic City. The hotel here is a fact. It stands on the crest of a hill in a commanding position on the east side. It is under the management of Wm. A. Bowles, one of the most famous men of his craft.

The people came to the opening banquet from sixteen States, and there were 425 guests, who were wined and dined felicitously.

An omnibus takes you from the station to the hotel, and a short flight of stairs leads to the hall, which was filled on this Thanksgiving night with music from one end to the other. A few steps further and you reach the elevated platform, surrounded by a hard-wood railing. The whole way is over soft, rich carpeting, and steam-pipes give an equable warmth.

Here are periodicals and writing material, and just in sight over the railing is an oak-log fire crackling in Christmas fashion over a brilliantly-illuminated expanse of hearth.

The guests were seated at tables that recalled the dining-rooms of New York hotels, with the scintillations of cut-glass to dazzle and with solid oak wainscoting to keep up the suggestion of cosmopolitanism.

Hon. Edward Echols was toast-master. Responses were made in the order named by Hon. James L. Gordon, W. E. Christian, Thomas P. Grasty, Judge Grattan, Wm. I. Stout, Col. J. C. Shields, R. S. Turk, and Major Jed. Hotchkiss. When the banquet, which lasted from nine until three o'clock, was over, everybody was delighted with the christening of the first perfect hotel that has been opened in any of the new Virginia towns.

Much of the comfort afforded the guests was due to the choice of harmonious furniture throughout the hostelry, which work fell upon Capt. Philip F. Brown, proprietor of the Blue Ridge Springs, Botetourt County, Va. Captain Brown has been for years a master of his business, and was so praised for this last accomplishment of furnishing the Hotel Brandon that he has yielded to requests since to furnish other hotels now under construction. He has decided to devote much of his time to this kind of work during the winter. But everybody else contributed to the guests' comfort; the officers, Samuel Torrer, J. M. Quarles, J. A. Wise, and Mr. Blackley, all joining hands in dispensing a good old-fashioned hospitality.

But what of the sale of lots?

It came off December 3d and 4th—a bad time of the year, it is generally thought—just before the January dividends. Let us see. In two days there were sold 280 lots which brought $230,000, and all were *bona fide* sales.

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SALE OF LOTS AT BASIC CITY.

The buyers, 375 in number, were from Virginia, Washington, D. C., West Virginia, Maryland, Ohio, Indiana, North Carolina, New Jersey, Canada, Michigan, and other localities.

A recent event of significance is this. Some officials of the Norfolk and Western Railroad have just closed a bargain by which they have acquired for $68,000 a large tract of land lying immediately adjacent to Basic City on the north. On this tract manufacturing plants will be immediately established with that liberality and confidence that have distinguished this road in all that it has undertaken in the way of town-building.

The Norfolk and Western Railroad will erect a $25,000 station just at the junction, near by the handsome Chesapeake and Ohio station, which will have been completed before the publication of this letter.

Basic City, therefore, has passed the experimental stage. Everybody here has worked together. There have been no bickerings. The stock is in demand, the buildings, many of brick, are going up rapidly, and Judge Quarles, the wonderful manager, is about to let a contract for 100 tenement-houses on the northeastern heights of the city.

There are so many towns on paper that it is pleasing to see one in such vigorous existence. Should any one be skeptical about this let him come down to the Hotel Brandon; he will be well entertained and he can see for himself at little cost.

Judge J. M. Quarles has won great repute for himself as manager. He is a man who in six months, by methods unknown to any one except himself, has taken an old field and built a city on it.

But the illustrated pamphlet sent free to any applicant is, after all, the best explanation of the present status of Basic City.

WHO BUILT BASIC CITY?

WHO can say? The forces have been many. The management is the "near-horse" and the real estate agent is the "off-horse." The "near-horse" bears more burden, but the "off-horse" keeps even on the pull. So with real estate agents.

A case in point is the career of the members of the firm of Garber, Carter & Co., at Basic City. The firm is composed of C. P. Garber, J. W. Carter, W. J. Whitaker, and C. A. Smith. Mr. Garber, of Rockingham County, Va., is experienced in his business, and his chief merit is his excellent judgment. Mr. Carter was formerly one of the most enterprising young men of Warrenton, Va., and arrived in Basic City last April. He is pre-eminently a live man. He has sold lots to men who stopped over only 15 minutes for dinner. He has sold them by moonlight and lantern. His chief aim is to turn property for his customers at good profits.

Mr. Whitaker, recently a capitalist in North Carolina, came here a few months since, during which time he has made about $20,000. He bought one lot for $600, paid down $150 cash, and realized $2,250 profit before his next payment became due. He settled and built in Basic City and is now one of her most esteemed and solid business men. Mr. Smith, from Fauquier County, formerly in real estate, is a driving-wheel of push and energy.

This firm have built largely in Basic City as an earnest of their faith, and have made money for their customers in marvelous per cents. One customer made $5,250 in 60 days and took out the cash that he had invested besides, viz., only $856. Another in 75 days took out $4,200 profit, together with her cash payment of $500. These are actual instances.

The firm is worthy of every confidence, and those interested would do well to write to them at Basic City.

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ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Chances for Investment Offered this Month,

AS EXPLAINED IN THE FOLLOWING PAGES:

REAL ESTATE.

Real Estate and other interests at Helena, Mont., L. G. PHELPS, Secretary Citizens' Com.
Trinidad, Col., Real Estate and Coal Properties, W. CAPEL SMYTHE, F. A. A. WILLIAMS.
Pittsburg Town Co. Properties, Pittsburg, Kan.
Tacoma and Pierce Co. Lands, A. A. KNIGHT, PHŒNIX BABCOCK.
Guaranteed 8% Real Estate Investments, RICHARDSON, DAY & CO., Duluth, Minn.
Denver, Col., Real Estate, VAN LAW & GALLUP, T. H. WYGANT, JR., G. C. DE BRONKART.
Superior Gentleman's Home and Stock Farm, A. W. LAWTON, Auburn, N. Y.
Desirable Properties in Madera, Cal., THE JOHN BROWN COLONY CO.
LINVILLE IMPROVEMENT CO., Linville, N. C.
DEMOREST HOME, MINING AND IMPROVEMENT CO., Demorest, Ga.
Kansas City, Mo., Properties, H. L. JOHNSON & CO.
Kansas City, Kan., Properties, THE HUSTED INVESTMENT CO.
Salt Lake City, Utah, Real Estate, C. E. WANTLAND.
Pueblo, Col., Real Estate, T. J. DOWNEN, GUYOT & MCLAIN.
Seattle, Wash., Realty and Securities, GERMAN-AMERICAN INVESTMENT & GUARANTY CO.

REAL ESTATE MORTGAGES.

Guaranteed Mortgages and Debenture Bonds, THE HUSTED INVESTMENT CO., UNION BANKING CO., CHAS. H. STICKNEY & CO.
Safe Loans, AMERICAN INVESTMENT CO., THE INVESTMENT TRUST CO. OF AMERICA.
MERCANTILE LOAN & TRUST CO., Kansas City, Mo., J. B. WATKINS LAND MORTGAGE CO.
Mortgages on Business and Residence Property in Kansas City, Mo., WINNER INVESTMENT CO.
F. P. OLNEY, Appleton, Minn.
Denver, Col., Mortgages, T. H. WYGANT, JR., D. F. CARMICHAEL, DENVER IMPROVEMENT CO., VAN LAW & GALLUP.
Pueblo, Col., Mortgages, GUYOT & MCLAIN, THOS. J. DOWNEN.

OTHER SECURITIES, ETC.

County, City and School Bonds, H. C. SPEER.
Bank Stocks, Commercial Paper, etc., MERCANTILE LOAN AND TRUST CO., UNION INVESTMENT CO., INVESTMENT TRUST CO. OF AMERICA.
National Building and Loan Association of Louisville, Ky.'s, Bonds, C. M. PHILLIPS.
Florida Properties and information regarding them, O. M. CROSBY.
Kansas City Bridge and Terminal Railway 6% Gold Bonds, WINNER INVESTMENT CO.
Short Loans on Texas Stocks and Bonds, FINANCIAL SECURITIES CO., Dallas, Texas.
Ores at auction sale, CENTRAL ORE SAMPLING CO., Pueblo, Col.
Time Certificates of Deposit, ST. JOSEPH MORTGAGE CO., St. Joseph, Mo.
Keokuk, Ia., Electric Street Railway and Power Co.'s 6 per cent. Bonds, HERBERT B. CHURCH.
Schmolz Process Raisin Co. (Limited), 20 per cent. yearly, H. A. ABBEY.

(In correspondence please mention the Forum.)

KANSAS CITY is on the eve of a "boom." Investigate and be satisfied. The time to invest is before the boom commences. Correspondence solicited.

H. L. JOHNSON & CO.,
Real Estate and Financial Brokers,
712 Wyandotte St., Kansas City, Mo.

8% GUARANTEED INVESTMENTS,

—BY THE—

New England Improvement Co., Chattanooga, Tenn.

In order to induce non-resident investors to purchase real estate in and near the rapidly growing city of Chattanooga, this Company has adopted the Plan of Investment set forth in their Prospectus. They believe their methods will meet the approval of such investors and invite correspondence. References upon application.

For Prospectus address

C. WINTHROP SMITH, Pres't,
207 Richardson Block, Chattanooga, Tenn.

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TACOMA

MONEY

Loaned for Eastern parties secured by first mortgage on city property **at 8, 9, and 10 PER CENT.** with absolute safety. Interest payable semi-annually, with exchange on New York. Investments made in real estate. Correspondence solicited.

REFERENCES—Pacific National Bank, Tacoma, Wash.; Dominick & Dickerman, Bankers, 74 Broadway, New York, and others on application.

PHŒNIX BABCOCK, 909 C Street, Tacoma, WASHINGTON.

8%

9%

10%

10% GUARANTEED on First Mortgage Loans.

Profitable Investments made in Realty and Securities for non-residents. **SEATTLE** is the fastest growing and most promising city in the Union—Chicago outdone. Write for "ASTONISHING FACTS."

German-American Investment and Guaranty Co.,
Capital, $100,000.00. SEATTLE, WASH.

DENVER COLORADO

Choice investments on inside property, paying from 8% to 12%. See article on Denver in November, 1890, FORUM.

E. E. Sommers, Treasurer DENVER IMPROVEMENT COMPANY, 927 Seventeenth Street.

V

DENVER

Guaranteed Loans net 8%.

Best Real Estate Investments. First-class Inside Property only. References, Maps, etc., freely sent.

VAN LAW & GALLUP.

G

TRINIDAD.

W. CAPEL SMYTHE,

REAL ESTATE AND INVESTMENTS,

TRINIDAD, COLORADO.

Bargains in acre property adjoining town suitable for platting. A block of 2,500 acres, well located coal land, three horizontal veins, 4, 7, and 9 feet thick. Title perfect. Apply for particulars.

TRINIDAD gives her a solid foundation for permanent growth and prosperity.

COAL **Good Inducements to manufacturers.**

Money carefully invested in **Real Estate.**

FIRST MORTGAGE LOANS

Made only on productive property yielding **8** and **9%**. **Prompt payment** of **Interest guaranteed** semi-annually. School Bonds for sale.

For particulars and references address

F. A. A. WILLIAMS,

105 East Main Street, *TRINIDAD, COLORADO.*

TACOMA,

8% **8%** **8%**

First Mortgage on TACOMA AND PIERCE COUNTY REAL ESTATE.

A. A. KNIGHT, Attorney at Law, Tacoma, Washington.

References—Tacoma National Bank, Washington. National Bank of Tacoma.

DENVER, COLORADO.

8% Net on improved inside property from one to five years. Information and references freely given by

D. F. CARMICHAEL,

DENVER, COLO.

ESTABLISHED 10 YEARS.

G. C. de BRONKART,

(BELGIAN CONSUL,)

Real Estate Broker,

1029 SIXTEENTH STREET,

DENVER, COLORADO.

RENTS AND LOANS A SPECIALTY.

FOR INFORMATION

regarding Denver, Colo., its Resources, Real Estate, Loans, &c., write to

T. H. WYGANT, Jr.,

P. O. Box 2242, Denver, Colo.

Member of the Real Estate Exchange.
References furnished.

SOMETHING NEW.

If you are looking for an investment investigate the offer made by the John Brown Colony. Absolutely safe and more profitable than speculation, because our plan is DEVELOPMENT. We do not depend upon fictitious values, boom prices, &c., but develop everything we sell, thus increasing the actual value of property every month. Write us. We claim greater safety and greater profits than any other plan.

THE JOHN BROWN COLONY, Madera, California.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Guyot & McLain,

Central Block, Pueblo, Col.

REAL ESTATE, LOAN,

—AND—

Investment Brokers,

Buy, Sell, and Negotiate

First Mortgage Real Estate Loans,

Commercial Paper.

We have for sale a fine line of 7 per cent. First Mortgage Loans on Pueblo Improved Realty, fully guaranteed.

Devote special attention to all matters involving the purchase and sale of Pueblo real estate and securities for non-residents. A full list of choice business and residence property constantly on hand.

REFERENCES—First National Bank, Pueblo. American National Bank, Pueblo. The Pueblo Smelting and Refining Co. Exchange National Bank, Colo. Springs.

☞**N.B.—See article on Pueblo in January number.**

SECURITIES

OF THE

HIGHEST CHARACTER

command low rates of interest. A higher rate than 6 per cent. should be looked upon with suspicion by the investor of SAVINGS AND TRUST FUNDS. Our 5 year GUARANTEED FIRST MORTGAGE LOANS are secured by choice inside improved real estate IN OUR OWN CITY ONLY, under our CONSTANT SURVEILLANCE, and secured for double the amount of the loan by forced sale and nearly three times the amount by ordinary sale.

We have been in this business ELEVEN YEARS and never had a foreclosure.

We obtain these loans by offering the lowest current rates. We sell them at 6 per cent. payable semi-annually by coupons that can be deposited like a check and would be redeemed by the

FIRST NATIONAL BANK OF BOSTON.

We have 10 year Debenture Bonds for $500 and $1,000, secured by these same regular loans and bearing the same rate of interest, if preferred.

See article on Pueblo in this magazine. Correspondence solicited.

CHAS. H. STICKNEY & CO.,

BANKERS,

PUEBLO, COLORADO.

M. D. THATCHER, *President.* (ESTABLISHED 1871.) JOHN A. THATCHER, *Vice-President.*

FIRST NATIONAL BANK,

OPERA HOUSE BLOCK,

PUEBLO, COLORADO.

CAPITAL AND SURPLUS, - - - - - $500,000.

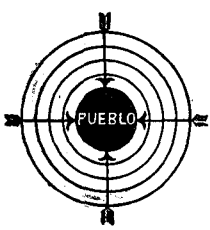
UNITED STATES DEPOSITORY.

Steel Vault Safety Boxes for Rent. Facilities for any Business in the Line of Banking.

R. F. LYTLE, *Cashier.* **INTEREST PAID ON TIME DEPOSITS.** W. E. SINGER, *Asst. Cashier*

H. E. MCKINNEY, President.
R. C. HAWLEY, Vice-President.

CENTRAL ORE SAMPLING CO.



Public Samplers.

All ore sold to the highest bidder. Samples steam dried. Capacity of works, 250 tons per day. Trial shipments and correspondence solicited.

Office and Works East of D. & R. G. Round House,

PUEBLO, COLORADO.

Telephone 128. P. O. Box 123.

THOMAS J. DOWNEN,

Real Estate and Investment Securities.

5 year guaranteed 8 per cent. first mortgages for sale.

PUEBLO, COLORADO.

Reference: American National Bank.

See article on Pueblo in January (1891) *Forum.*

SALT LAKE CITY

Is the Place to Invest in Now.

Address C. E. WANTLAND,
209 Main Street,
Salt Lake City, Utah.

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The Winner Investment Co.

FULL PAID CAPITAL $1,000,000.

This company does strictly an investment business and shares with investors the results of conservative and profitable investments. It offers a fixed income, large profits, and absolute security. Nearly $2,000,000 net profits paid to investors since 1883, from Kansas City (Mo.) real estate investments. At the present time opportunity is offered to invest in bonds, secured by first mortgage on one of the best office buildings in the West, yielding ***6 per cent.*** guaranteed interest. A bonus of stock in the building company accompanies each bond. Also in bonds secured by first mortgage on residence property in and adjacent to Kansas City, in the line of immediate development, yielding ***8 per cent.*** guaranteed interest. These bonds participate in one-half the net profits and run five years. Send for pamphlet and monthly circulars.

Kansas City Bridge and Terminal Railway

Six per cent. Gold Bonds, due 1919.
Central Trust Company of New York, Trustees.
☞ Other choice investments not obtainable elsewhere.

WILLIAM H. PARMENTER,

GENERAL AGENT,

50 STATE STREET, BOSTON.

50 & 51 Times Building, New York City.

1 Custom House St., Providence, R. I.

SAFETY

the great thing to be sought in an Investment, rather than high rate of interest.

We have loaned in twenty years

TWENTY MILLION DOLLARS

without loss to any customer.

Let us tell you what we can do for you in the way of something not only safe, but paying a good rate of interest.

None of our customers are waiting for their interest.

American Investment Co.,

150 Nassau Street, New York City.

E. S. ORMSBY, *President.* A. L. ORMSBY, H. E. SIMMONS, *Vice-Pres'ts.*

8% Guaranteed.

A MUCH LARGER PROFIT PROBABLE.

We act as Agents in buying and selling Real Estate for a part of the profits realized. We guarantee that Investor's share shall not be less than 8 per cent. per annum.

Write for copy of Contract and assure yourself through our References that our guaranty is of value.

RICHARDSON, DAY & CO.,
104 Palladio Building,
Duluth, Minn.

THE INVESTMENT TRUST COMPANY OF AMERICA.

CAPITAL STOCK, $1,000,000.00. *CAPITAL STOCK, $1,000,000.00.*

Topeka, Kansas; Boston, Mass.; Philadelphia, Pa.; New York; Edinburgh, Scotland.

Offers to Investors desiring the Best and Satisfied with Safe Rates of Interest,
DEBENTURE BONDS, FIRST MORTGAGE LOANS,
COMMERCIAL PAPER, COLLATERAL DEPOSIT CERTIFICATES,
AND OTHER CHOICE INVESTMENT SECURITIES.

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BYRON ROBERTS.....Topeka, Kan.,
Treasurer Shawnee County.
HON. SAM'L T. HOWE.....Topeka, Kan.,
President Kansas National Bank.
WM. LLOYD GARRISON.....Boston, Mass.
HON. N. C. MCFARLAND.....Topeka, Kan.,
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T. J. KELLAM.....Topeka, Kan.,
Vice-President Merchants' National Bank.
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C. O. KNOWLES.....Topeka, Kan.,
Vice-President City Real Estate Trust Co.
BENNETT R. WHEELER, Secretary.....Topeka, Kan.
W. H. WINANTS.....Kansas City, Mo.,
Cashier Midland National Bank.
HON. J. G. SLONECKER.....Topeka, Kan.,
Director Interstate National Bank, N. Y.
HERBERT E. BALL, President.....Topeka, Kan.
HON. WM. F. HARRITY.....Philadelphia, Pa.,
President Equitable Trust Co.
GEO. C. MORRELL, Vice-President.....Boston, Mass.
LEWIS W. ANTHONY.....Providence, R. I.,
Director Traders' National Bank.
HON. JOSHUA G. HALL.....Dover, N. H.,
Director Dover National Bank.
ISAAC J. CARR.....Gardner, Me.,
President Gardner Savings Bank.
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Cashier City National Bank.

This company has secured an option on $50,000 of the Capital Stock of The City Real Estate Trust Company of Kansas City, Mo. This is an assured 6 1-2 per cent. regular dividend paying stock, and it is believed the profits in excess of this dividend will double the value of the stock inside of five years. This stock is offered at par and may be paid for in instalments of 25 per cent. each. We believe it to be a meritorious investment stock and advise an early purchase.

NO SECURITIES OFFERED EXCEPT AFTER EXAMINATION AND UNANIMOUS APPROVAL OF THE INVESTMENT BOARD.

Write for Prospectus and Investors' Book.

H. E. BALL, *President*, Topeka, Kansas.
GEO. C. MORRELL, *Vice-Pres't*, 101 Devonshire Street, Boston, Mass.
EDWIN A. BARBER, 114 S. Fourth Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
GRISWOLD & GILLETT, 5 Wall Street, New York City.

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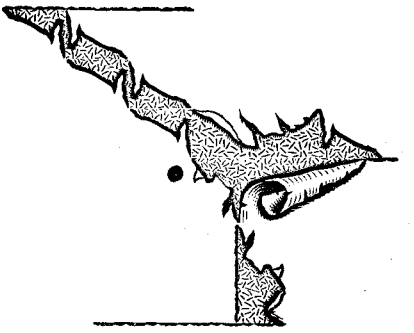
That there is a

KANSAS CITY, KANSAS,

Is to Many a

Revelation.



That it has GAINED since 1880 a greater population than any other city in the State possesses, and that with a single exception it is the foremost live-stock market, and packing point in the world, are, with its location, weighty reasons why it is a desirable place for both labor and capital.

THE HUSTED Investment Co., Kansas City, Kansas.

NATIONAL BANK STOCK.
8 per cent. Dividends. Free of Taxes.
SEND FOR CIRCULARS.
UNION INVESTMENT CO.,
KANSAS CITY, MO.
References:—
American National Bank, Kansas City, Mo.
Kansas City Savings Bank and Safe Deposit Co.

LOANS FOR CORPORATIONS AND INDIVIDUAL INVESTORS MADE, Bearing 6%, 7% and 8%.
We deal in **Mortgage Loans, Commercial Paper, Bank Stocks and Municipal Bonds.**
REFERENCES: National Bank of Kansas City; First Nat. Bank of New York; First Nat. Bank of Chicago; Maverick Nat. Bank of Boston. **MERCANTILE LOAN AND TRUST CO.**, 501-503 Delaware St., KANSAS CITY, MO.

IF YOU WANT
a home in FLORIDA,
to grow fruit in FLORIDA,
to seek health in FLORIDA,
to have pleasure in FLORIDA,
to secure tickets to FLORIDA,
or informat'n about FLORIDA,
Send 2c. stamp for particulars and copy of monthly "Florida Homeseeker," to O. M. CROSBY, 99 Franklin St., N. Y.
Mention THE FORUM in your letter when you write.

LINVILLE.
A place planned and developing as a great resort. Situated in the mountains of Western North Carolina, a region noted for healthfulness and for beauty of scenery. An elevation of 3,800 feet, with cool, invigorating climate. It is being laid out with taste and skill, with well-graded roads and extensive forest parks. A desirable place for fine residences and healthful homes. A good opportunity for profitable investments. For illustrated pamphlet address
LINVILLE IMPROVEMENT COMPANY,
Linville, Mitchell County, N. C.

Time Certificates.
THE
ST. JOSEPH MORTGAGE CO.
Will Pay ***Six Per Cent.*** per annum
On Time Certificates of Deposit, Interest payable quarterly, with coupons attached.
Write for Sample Certificates, Terms, etc.
We have over one hundred Massachusetts Stockholders to whom we can refer. Liberal commission to reliable Agents to represent us. Address
ST. JOSEPH MORTGAGE CO., St. Joseph, Mo.

LOANS a specialty, 8 per cent. net to investors. Address F. P. OLNEY, Appleton, Minn.

A GENTLEMAN'S HOME and STOCK FARM
FOR SALE.
COMPLETE in every detail; adjacent to the village of Moravia, 18 miles south of Auburn, N. Y.; 100 acres of the beautiful Moravia Valley and about 100 more of side hill and timber. Stables and barns cost $13,000, and everything is in keeping; house lately rebuilt and well arranged; park about premises supplied with water, fountain, &c. About 50 thoroughbred registered Jerseys will be sold with farm if desired. Same manager employed by the late Geo. J. Letchworth continues in charge; possession given any day. Inspection of premises urged. For further particulars address or call upon
A. W. LAWTON, Auburn, N. Y.

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BEAUTIFUL

HELENA, Montana.

The city of Helena is located in the beautiful Prickly Pear Valley; is substantially built of stone and brick, with good hotels, churches, schools and all modern conveniences of life. The society is exceptionally high class, having more than the average number of educated and intelligent people.

As a place of residence it is unequalled. It can be reached by luxurious trains daily, with through dining cars, on the Great Northern and Northern Pacific Railways from St. Paul and Minneapolis, or from Kansas City, via Union Pacific Railroad. **Low rate round trip tickets.**

Montana has ***dozens of broad valleys*** so fertile with the deposits of ages that farmers find in them a paradise of productiveness and a home market for all yield.

Greatest of all advantages of Montana is the ***wonderful climate.*** The warm winds of the Pacific Ocean modify the temperature to the degree which affords the highest physical comfort. The air is so full of ozone and so exhilerating in its effects that the continued existence of disease is an improbability.

Consumptives *find in the almost constant succession of bright sunshiny days and dry atmosphere remedies which* ***soon drive away their worst symptoms,*** *and a quick increase of appetite and flesh indicates an early return to health.*

For Full Information Address,

L. C. PHELPS, Sec'y Citizens Committee, Helena, Montana.

A Safe Investment.

$50,000 6 PER CENT., 20-Year Corporation Bonds. Issued by Keokuk Electric Street Railway & Power Co., Keokuk, Ia. Capital $200,000. Exclusive Franchise. Earnings at rate of $46,442 per annum; charges will not exceed $30,000 per annum. Price and further particulars on application to HERBERT B. CHURCH, Banker and Broker, 53 Congress St., Boston, Mass.

MONEY INVESTED

in the National Building and Loan Association of Louisville, Ky., pays 12 per cent. ***net.*** Secured by first lien on improved real estate. Paid-up stock $106.00 a share. Address

C. M. PHILLIPS, General Manager,
504 W. Main St., Louisville, Ky.

INVEST

igate yourself and be convinced of the great opportunities offered capital in ***Pittsburg, Kansas.*** Natural advantages unequaled. For further information address Pittsburg Town Co., Pittsburg, Kansas. **NOW**

9% GUARANTEED.

First lien on Real Estate worth 50 times amount of loan. Safe as Government Bonds. Limited amount offered. Write for particulars and references near you.

UNION BANKING COMPANY,
Aberdeen, South Dakota

INVESTORS

should get information about **First Mortgage** investments (land and railway bonds) paying **6% TO 8%**
TWENTY YEARS' EXPERIENCE.
Have invested $15,549,923
Principal and Interest paid on the day when due $12,107,576
J. B. WATKINS LAND MORTGAGE CO.
319 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

20% YEARLY. 8% PAID QUARTERLY.

SCHMOLZ PROCESS RAISIN CO. (Lim.),
Manufacturers of Raisins, Fruit and Vegetable Products.
Factory, California.

Net income will pay above earnings, assuring upward of 8 per cent. per annum with ample surplus. Endorsed by the Press, the Fruit Growers, Raisin Packers, and Investors generally. Fullest investigation desired. Applications for Shares.
Address H. A. ABBEY, 198 Broadway, N. Y.

TEXAS STOCKS AND BONDS ARE PRIME INVESTMENT SECURITIES.

Short Loans on Texas Stocks and Bonds

Are the best of paper for the employment of the surplus funds of Banks and Individuals.

FINANCIAL SECURITIES COMPANY,

DALLAS, TEXAS,

Is the only company dealing in these securities. Send for its pamphlets on Texas Banking and Western Loans, and for its investment bulletins.

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ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

H. C. SPEER,

BANKER

807 Kansas Avenue, Topeka, Kansas.

INVESTORS WANT, perhaps primarily, assurance of security for the return of their principal at maturity; perhaps next, ready convertibility of the investment into money when occasion serves; perhaps then, the best rate of interest consistent with the foregoing.

SECURITY AND CONVERTIBILITY as applied to investments are realized in their highest degree in **Government Bonds**; no one will question **State Bonds** as ranking next, with credits for **cities, counties, townships, and school districts** following closely. Public debts have always constituted the highest class of investments; they are evidenced by bonds carefully devised by legislation to protect "innocent holders" as the only means of protecting and enhancing public credit. These bonds are issued in denominations convenient for division, usually $500 and $1,000; they are made payable usually at well-known financial centers; they are made a tax lien on all property, personal and real; in short, legislation seeks to make municipal bonds in every way a favorite investment. Statistics prove that **public credits** taken throughout the list, high and low, from Maine to California, are better protected than any combination of commercial enterprises whatever, not excepting the aggregate of National bank stocks.

MUNICIPAL BONDS not only afford a safe and semi-annual income, but they are usually **long-time** investments. A thirty-year bond held by you five years is **still** an attractive investment, and your experience with it in the prompt receipt of ten semi-annual payments of interest adds to its value to **other** investors when you happen to want money.

GIVE THE BEST interest rate that prevails on **short-time** paper its full credit, but reflect that with **each renewal** it gets **lower**—another reason why long bonds sell **higher** the longer they are out. I have bought back, and every dealer has done so, bond after bond at 5 to 10% higher prices than the investors paid originally. It is very simple. You are selling an improved and tried loan.

INTEREST RATES on municipal bonds are *not* temporary, and I cannot offer you a temptation by 8% and 7% rates. Those days have passed for municipal loans. What I do offer you is an investment of any size from $500 to $50,000, a first lien on the taxable property of all the people, in public loans for which the public credit is pledged secure and convertible, to net you 5½ to 6%.

SEND FOR LISTS OF BONDS, stating whether you prefer County, Township, or City or School Bonds. I have no other way to reach you with information.

MENTION THE FORUM.

H. C. SPEER.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DEMOREST, GEORGIA.

HEALTH

In the healthy highlands. Summers never oppressive. Winters short and mild. Spring and autumn long and delightful.

Malaria Unknown: Yellow Fever Impossible:
Asthma Always Cured:

No hay fever; Bronchial troubles always relieved. 1,600 feet above the sea.
The finest all-the-year-round climate.

BUSINESS.

Fine water powers, which mills and factories are using, and plenty of room and power for more. Everything made of cotton, wool, or wood can be manufactured here as cheaply as anywhere on the American continent.

A vein of the finest, **high-grade iron ore** in the South runs three miles across property of The Demorest Home, Mining, and Improvement Company.

Improvements are going forward because the location is UNSURPASSED for health, beauty, and business

OPPORTUNITIES.

No new town in the United States has made as much progress, with so little excitement and "booming."

PERPETUAL BANISHMENT OF SALOONS

is part of the consideration of every deed, and gambling dens and brothels are included under the same ban. This brings the best and purest population ever gathered in a new town and has proved such a good business policy that

INVESTMENTS

have been and are most profitable.

The attention of persons having a few hundreds or many thousands to invest is invited to the stock of this company, as a safe, reliable, and profitable investment, that will pay large returns.

LOTS.

Northern people buy lots and build winter homes in Demorest. Southern people buy lots and build summer homes in Demorest. Many from both sections buy and build for all-the-year-round residence.

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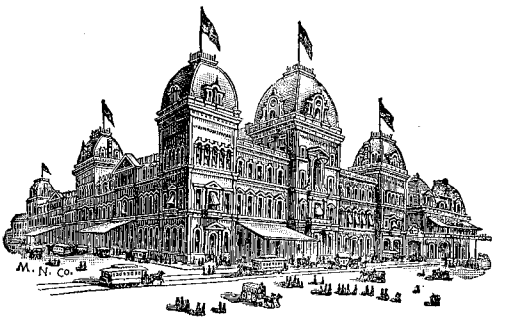

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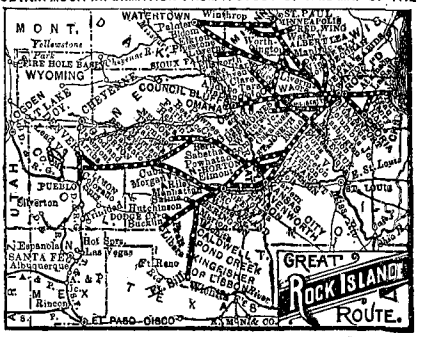

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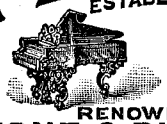

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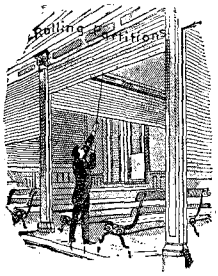

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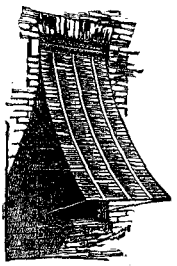

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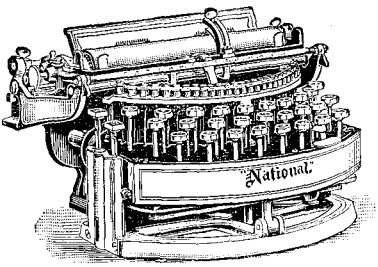

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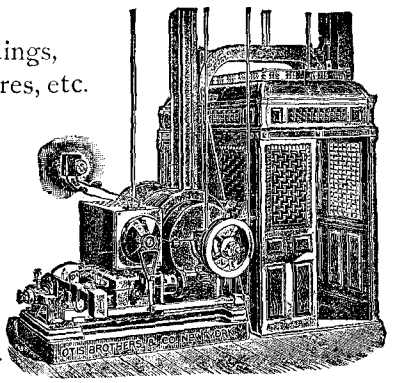

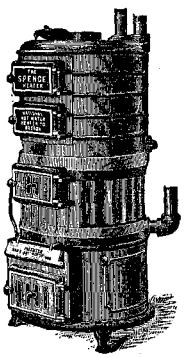

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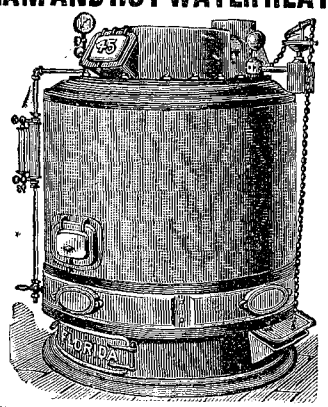

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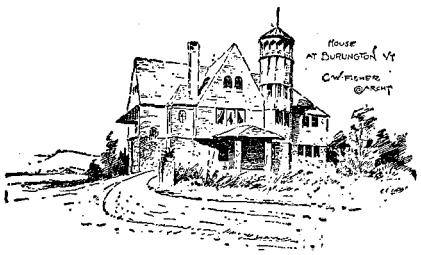

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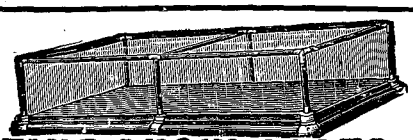

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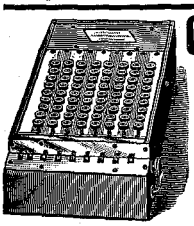

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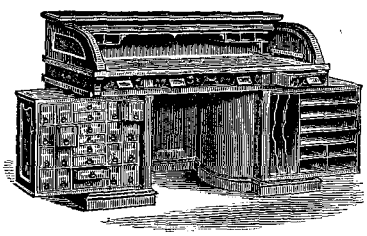

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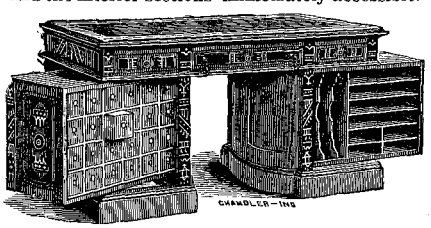

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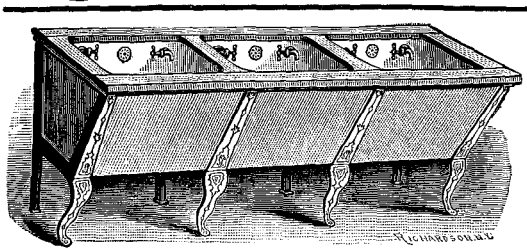

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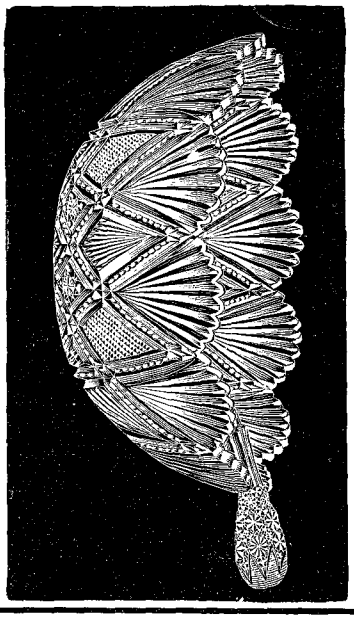

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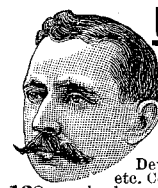

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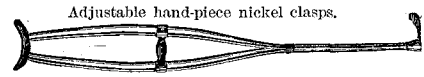

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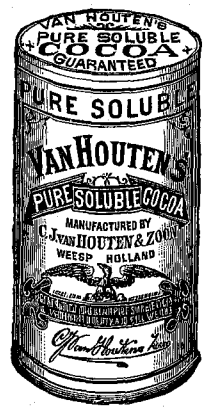

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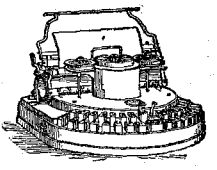

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